FILE

THE LIVING AGE

FILE

The World in Review

PALO ALTO PUBLIC LIBRARY READING ROOM
JUL 1 - 1940

French Hopes in Pan-America

By Jules Sauerwein

German International	*Lewis Bernstein Namier*
Investigation in Pacifism	*C. E. Silcox*
A Briton Views the French Navy	*Somerset Maugham*
Freedom Wins in Venezuela	*Michael Scully*
America Moves Toward War	*National-Zeitung (Basle)*
aly's Unstable Economic Outlook	*Economist*
Liberia Fails as Negro Haven	*John Harvey Furbay*

The World Over—Letters and the Arts—Speaking of Books

$6 a Year | *July 1940* | 50c a Copy

ESTABLISHED BY E. LITTELL IN 1844

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'There Are No Islands, Any More'

By Edna St. Vincent Millay

Dear Isolationist, you are
So very, very insular!
Surely you do not take offense?—
The word's well used in such a sense.
'Tis you, not I, sir, who insist
You are an Isolationist.

And oh, how sweet a thing to be
Safe on an island, not at sea!
(Though some one said, some months ago—
I heard him, and he seemed to know;
Was it the German Chancellor?
"There *are* no islands any more.")

Dear Islander, I envy you:
I'm very fond of islands, too;
And few the pleasures I have known
Which equaled being left alone.
Yet matters from without intrude
At times upon my solitude:
A forest fire, a dog run mad,
A neighbor stripped of all he had
By swindlers, or the shrieking plea
For help, of stabbed Democracy.

Started, I rise, run from the room,
Join the brigade of spade and broom;
Help to surround the sickened beast;
Hear the account of farmers fleeced
By dapper men, condole, and give
Something to help them hope and live;
Or, if democracy's at stake,
Give more, give more than I can make;
And notice, with a rueful grin,
What was without is now within.

(The tidal wave devours the shore:
There *are* no islands any more.)

With sobbing breath, with blistered hands,
Men fight the forest fire in bands;
With kitchen broom, with branch of pine,
Beat at the blackened, treacherous line;
Before the veering wind fall back,
With eyebrows burnt and faces black;
While breasts in blackened streams perspire,
Watch how the wind runs with the fire
Like a broad banner up the hill—
And can no more * * * yet more must still.
New life!—To hear across the field
Voices of neighbors, forms concealed
By smoke, but loud the nearing shout:
"Hold on! We're coming! Here it's out!"

(The tidal wave devours the shore:
There *are* no islands any more.)

This little life, from here to there—
Who lives it safely anywhere?
Not you, my insulated friend:
What calm composure will defend
Your rock, when tides you've never seen
Assault the sands of What-has-been,
And from your island's tallest tree,
You watch advance What-is-to-be?

(The tidal wave devours the shore:
There *are* no islands any more.)

Sweet, sweet, to see the tide approach,
Assured that it cannot encroach
Upon the beach-peas, often wet
With spray, never uprooted yet.
The moon said—did she not speak true?—
"The waves will not awaken you.
At my command the waves retire.
Sleep, weavy mind; dream, heart's desire."

And yet, there was a Danish king
So sure he governed everything
He bade the ocean not to rise.
It did. And great was his surprise.

No man, no nation, is made free
By stating it intends to be.
Jostled and elbowed is the clown
Who thinks to walk alone in town.

We live upon a shrinking sphere—

Like it or not, our home is here;
Brave heart, uncompromising brain
Could make it seem like home again.
(There *are* no islands any more.
The tide that mounts our drowsy shore
Is boats and men—there is no place
For waves in such a crowded space.)
Oh, let us give, before too late,
To those who hold our country's fate
Along with theirs—be sure of this—
In grimy hands—that will not miss
The target, if we stand beside
Loading the guns—(resentment, pride,
Debts torn across with insolent word—
All this forgotten, or deferred
At least until there's time for strife
Concerning things less dear than Life;
Then let, if must be, in the brain
Resentment rankle once again,
Quibbling and Squabbling take the floor,
Cool Judgment go to sleep once more.)

On English soil, on French terrain,
Democracy's at grips again
With forces forged to stamp it out.
This time no quarter!—since no doubt.

Not France, not England's what's involved,
Not we—there's something to be solved
Of grave concern to free men all:
Can Freedom stand?—Must Freedom fall?

(Meantime, the tide devours the shore:
There *are* no islands any more.)

Oh, build, assemble, transport, give,
That England, France and we may live,
Before tonight, before too late,
To those who build our country's fate
In desperate fingers, reaching out
For weapons we confer about,
All that we can, and more, and now!
Oh, God, let not the lovely brow
Of Freedom in the trampled mud
Grow cold! Have we no brains, no blood,
No enterprise—no anything
Of which we proudly talk and sing,
Which we like men can bring to bear
For Freedom, and against Despair?

Lest French and British fighters, deep
In battle, needing guns and sleep,
For lack of aid be overthrown,
And we be left to fight alone.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE GUIDE POST

LEWIS BERNSTEIN NAMIER, author of *German International* (p. 407) is Russian by birth but a naturalized British subject. He was educated at Oxford, where he was later a lecturer on modern history. He now teaches at the University of Manchester.

The most famous of SOMERSET MAUGHAM's many novels is, of course, *Of Human Bondage*. His latest book, *France at War*, has just been published in England. In *A Briton Views the French Navy* (p. 419) he describes one of the least publicized branches of the French forces.

BRYCE OLIVER, who wrote *Intrigue Behind the Graf Spee* for the February 1940 issue of *The Living Age*, is a former Latin-American correspondent. He is now a news commentator on stations WEVD and WHN in New York. *Mexico, Focal Point of Invasion* (p. 423).

JULES AUGUSTE SAUERWEIN was foreign editor of *Le Matin* for twenty-one years, has held the same position with *Paris-Soir* since 1931. His dispatches as a special correspondent of the *New York Times* have been widely read in America. *French Hopes in Pan-America* (p. 435).

JOSEPH WECHSLER EATON is a recent graduate of Cornell University who has made a special study of the Arab-Jewish question. His proposal for *A Federated Arab-Jewish State* (p. 438) is a debatable cure for one of the trouble spots of the Near East.

MALCOLM HOBBS, who writes about the *Gilt-Edged Candidate* (p. 444) who may

(Continued on next page)

THE LIVING AGE

•

At this time with Europe falling to pieces, and the world in turmoil, THE LIVING AGE, the nation's oldest monthly publication, becomes

America's No. 1 "Must"

12 months—$6.00

THE LIVING AGE LA-7
420 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

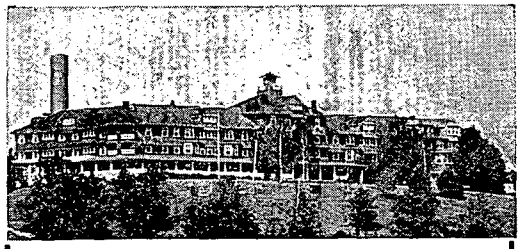
Please enter my subscription for one year. Enclosed you will find $6.00.

Name .....

Street .....

City and State .....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



COME TO

CRESTMONT

IN-THE-MOUNTAINS

It's always cool at Crestmont Inn, high in the Alleghenies (2200 ft. alt.), on the lovely Lake of Eagles. Sunny days invite to luxurious lounging or relaxing sports. Cool nights—and no mosquitoes—assure restful slumber.

Riding, hiking, driving through scenic wonderlands

Seven championship tennis courts, with instructor

Water sports, 18-hole golf course

Music, bridge tournaments, dancing, game-room

Superb cuisine, restful surroundings. Children cared for by a trained kindergartner. 41st season. Write for illustrated folder CD.

William Woods, *Proprietor*
EAGLES MERE, PA.

CRESTMONT INN

THE GUIDE POST

(Continued).

become Mexico's newest dictator, is now on his way to Mexico to delve further into its present confused political affairs.

MICHAEL SCULLY is a newspaper writer on Latin-American affairs, about which he has contributed to various periodicals. *Freedom Wins in Venezuela* (p. 452).

JOHN HARVEY FURBAY, PH. D. disagrees with Senator Bilbo's proposal for *An African Home for Our Negroes* (*The Living Age,* June 1940.) *Liberia Fails as Negro Haven* (p. 459) is based on the knowledge of Liberia he gained as president of the College of West Africa in Monrovia. Since his return to America in September 1939 he has been on the faculty of the School of Education of Mills College in California.

ARTHUR F. BLANCHARD, who finds *Lobbying, Our Political Disease* (p. 470), has served as a Massachusetts State Senator—from Cambridge—since 1937.

With this issue of *The Living Age,* ALFRED KREYMBORG moves over to *Letters and the Arts* (p. 484) and EUGENE JOLAS takes his place as editor of *Poets and Poetry* (p. 493). Mr. Jolas, well-known for his verse in both English and French, is American-born. With Elliot Paul, he was for many years co-editor of *transition,* when it was published in Paris. He has recently returned to New York.

EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY'S *'There Are No Islands Any More'* (on our second cover) is a fine piece of political thinking by a poet who, heretofore, has devoted herself almost exclusively to pure lyricism.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LIVING AGE

Editor
LEON BRYCE BLOCH
Associate Editor: LAMAR MIDDLETON
Assistant Editors: MARJORIE MCFARLAND, SYLVIA KANTOR

Contents for July 1940

THE WORLD OVER 401
GERMAN INTERNATIONAL ..... *Lewis Bernstein Namier* 407
INVESTIGATION IN PACIFISM ..... *C. E. Silcox* 414
A BRITON VIEWS THE FRENCH NAVY ..... *Somerset Maugham* 419
MEXICO, FOCAL POINT OF INVASION ..... *Bryce Oliver* 423
ITALY'S UNSTABLE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK 429
AMERICA MOVES TOWARD WAR 432
FRENCH HOPES IN PAN-AMERICA ..... *Jules Sauerwein* 435
AN ARAB-JEWISH FEDERATED STATE ..... *James Wechsler Eaton* 438
PERSONS AND PERSONAGES
GILT-EDGED CANDIDATE ..... *Malcolm Hobbs* 444
NEW WORD FOR TRAITOR ..... *K. S.* 446
THE NAZI CASE, EX POST FACTO 449
FREEDOM WINS IN VENEZUELA ..... *Michael Scully* 452
FLIGHT FROM THE COMMUNISTS 457
LIBERIA FAILS AS NEGRO HAVEN ..... *John Harvey Furbay* 459
ON THIS ROCK, CHINA MAKES HER STAND ..... *C. Y. W. Meng* 464
STRAWS IN THE WIND 468
LOBBYING, OUR POLITICAL DISEASE ..... *Arthur F. Blanshard* 470
WAR'S AFTERMATH IN NORWAY 477
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO 478
HISTORIC MONTEREY ..... *Helen Burns* 480
LETTERS AND THE ARTS ..... *Alfred Kreymborg* 484
SPEAKING OF BOOKS ..... *Leon Bryce Bloch* 487
POETS AND POETRY ..... *Eugene Jolas* 493

THE LIVING AGE does not accept responsibility for the views expressed by writers of articles appearing in its pages. The aim of the Editors is to bring to readers, for their information, representative expressions of opinion throughout the world.

THE LIVING AGE. Published monthly. Publication office, East Stroudsburg, Pa. Editorial and general offices, 420 Madison Avenue, New York City. 50c a copy. $6.00 a year. Canada, $6.50. Foreign, $7.00. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at East Stroudsburg, Pa., under the Act of Congress, March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1940, by The Living Age Company, Inc., New York, New York. Irvine Harvey Williams, President and Treasurer; Anne Roane, Secretary.

Subscribers are requested to send notices of changes of address three weeks before they are to take effect. Failure to send such notices will result in incorrect forwarding and delay in receipt. Old and new addresses must both be given.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—*De Groene Amsterdammer*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LIVING AGE

Founded by E. Littell

In 1844

July 1940 *Volume 358, Number 4486*

The World Over

EACH passing hour the flames of the European war lick closer to our interests. America is powerless to decide whether or not she will become involved. While it still takes two nations to make a peace, one nation can make a war, and we are in the uncomfortable position of being dependent upon the wills of mad dictators for our current freedom from aggression. How long we can maintain our neutrality, no one at this moment can predict, but how long we should maintain our neutrality is another matter.

In fact, we are non-belligerent rather than neutral. With the decision to send planes, munitions and guns to England, we are now part of the conflict. It is time that we decide what course of action to take, rather than wait, as did the small nations of Europe, until the conflagration engulfs us.

First of all, this nation should openly declare itself a non-belligerent rather than a neutral, and drop the unbecoming shawl of pretence which we have adopted. Then as a non-belligerent rather than a neutral, we can take more definite action to protect our interests and our outposts.

The totalitarian dictatorships in Europe are eyeing South America in an uncomfortable manner. The harem of South American nations is a tempting morsel for both Hitler and Mussolini.

Most South American nations themselves are expressing feelings of concern and discomfort at the moment, and their total unpreparedness to protect themselves lends aid and comfort to the potential aggressors. It is therefore America's province to so gird herself that she will be able, in an emergency, not only to protect herself, but also to place her protective

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shield before the throats of the twenty-one American sister nations.

The South American republics are by no means safe, either, from internal disturbance which would provide a fertile field for fishing in muddy waters by the aggressors. It is time that America heeded the warnings and exhortations of President Roosevelt, exhortations which he has uttered for the past year or more. Fifth columnists all over Latin America are becoming a real threat. Designs on the Panama Canal have been unearthed by arrests in the Canal Zone and nearby countries. Newspaper advertisements in Argentina exhort that country to guard against a destiny equal to that of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium.

The islands off the coasts of the American continents and those near the Canal are a source of danger to this country. Our outposts in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands are being fortified. This work should be speeded. We should take over all islands and other territory essential to our defence in the Atlantic and Pacific areas, and leave for a later date the question whether they should be permanently annexed by this country or whether they should be set up under a mandate of all the American nations.

Preparations for defence must be handled expeditiously, and by one man, the President, who should report to Congress, however, upon his procedures. The army and navy and air force should be strengthened with all possible speed. Much has been done in this direction and much more will be done in the coming months. Now we must proceed not as one does in a state of emergency, but as though we were actually at war. No less an authority than Fletcher Pratt has said that it would take two years to provide the material, and the men necessary to use it, to make America ready for defence against any attack. However, that time, we know, can be shortened under war conditions or a simulation of war conditions. In less than a year a large number of planes, tanks, heavy artillery and other war essentials can be ready for use. It takes about eight months to perfect a soldier for mechanized war. Therefore, in addition to preparing supplies, this country should begin to build a large enough army to protect its interests and its very life. What a large enough army is poses a question that few are willing to answer. However, a perusal of the best opinion on the matter leads us to believe that two and a half million men would now be a minimum to defend this hemisphere.

Two million and a half men could be raised only by means of some form of conscription; a pleasanter word is universal service. Universal service is far from being an undemocratic means of raising an army, and therefore we believe that immediate adoption of universal military service is an imperative part of our defence program. Further, we should extend every material aid and every moral impetus to the Allies, while we strengthen our social and cultural forces at home so that we become ideologically impregnable against the forces of disintegration loose in the world.

If we do these things immediately and without delay, we probably will be in a position to prevent attack upon our way of life, as the weak democracies in Europe were not.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORD reaches us from Amsterdam via Paris of the summary execution by Nazis of most of the editorial staff of *De Groene Amsterdammer*.

This weekly, for many years a skilful and satirical opponent of the Nazis in a country where fifth-column activities were rampant, was one of the first objects of Nazi wrath when the Reichswehr entered the city in May. It bespeaks a great deal for the courage of the staff of this journal that the invaders recognized its power and were quick to descend on its plant once the path was cleared of snipers; but that honor is cold comfort for those editors who, remaining at their desks though much of the city was aflame, were shot on the familiar Nazi pretext of "resisting arrest." *De Groene Amsterdammer* has, of course, since been suppressed; even the undeniably adroit Dr. Goebbels could not hope to retain its format and circulation in a Nazi transformation (an editorial feat successfully performed, however, with certain Polish journals). Editors the world over will miss its lively cartoons—week in and week out, the best political caricature (some of which has been reproduced in *The Living Age*) in Europe appeared in its pages—and the sardonic and cutting tone of many of its articles.

Other reports state that the editors of *De Groene Amsterdammer* were not the only journalists to incur the wrath of the Nazi hordes. Staff members of other anti-Hitler newspapers in the city were also deemed to be "resisting arrest," or were charged with sniping from their office windows; the last is conceivably true. Perhaps journalism must revert to that melodramatic era, in America, where part of the essential equipment of the editor, aside from his sulphurous vocabulary, was a six-shooter in his top, right-hand desk drawer, precautionarily left open. We note, incidentally, that the Berlin broadcasters, in the evening, are becoming increasingly exercised over the contents of the *New York Times* which, according to Lord Haw-Haw, E. D. Ward and another German commentator oddly named "Riley," has been taken over by the British Government for the specific purpose of disseminating "plutocratic fifth-column hysteria."

Definition of Amity

IN THE middle of June, Siam signed treaties of amity and non-aggression with Japan, Britain and France. The portents of this diplomatic move, particularly so far as Japan is concerned, appear to have been overlooked in the torrent of grim news from France.

That Siam has negotiated non-aggression agreements with the Allies will not prevent her henceforth from looking with more acquisitive interest upon a proposal that Japan has been trying to sell the Bangkok Govern-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment for a number of years. This is permission to construct a canal through the slender Isthmus of Kra, an operation much simpler than was the building of the Panama Canal.

Today, Japan is effectively prevented from political or military fishing in India by the vast bulk of China, on land, and, so far as the ocean route is concerned, by the Malacca Straits between the British Malay States and Sumatra—as difficult of forced passage as the Dardanelles. A glance at the map will show how neatly a canal across the Isthmus of Kra would reduce to strategic uselessness the great British naval base at Singapore.

In past years, Britain has delivered "friendly warnings" to Siam on several occasions not to entertain seriously the concession of any canal rights to Japan, which might threaten the Empire's rule in India. But today Britain is fighting for her existence, and more than appears on the surface may lie beneath this "treaty of amity" and non-aggression between Japan and Siam. No cynical opportunist could select a more propitious time to fish in the troubled waters of India than this moment.

Two Armies

THE microscopic Republic of San Marino, an ancient state of thirty-eight square miles situated in the Apennines in the heart of Italy, has irascibly declared its neutrality in the European war, and it does not propose to respond to the call to arms of the jackal Benito. San Marino actually has an army, by the way, consisting of some thirty-nine major-generals, 949 colonels, and three privates. Perhaps the Duce's "18,000,000 bayonets" can annihilate this intransigent toy army, but Americans, in their present mood, would not give away any odds to Mussolini on that score.

Even before any decisive clash of the Italians with the enemy, it can be said without qualification that the Duce, losing touch with his people, has led them into a war for which they have no stomach. This is not gratuitously derogatory of Italian spirit, although the history of modern Italy does not overflow with examples of military proficiency or soldierly valor. (It is one thing to score a "glorious victory" over unarmed Ethiopians and Albanian shepherds, but another to face the machine-guns of the French.) The Duce, bloated with the adulation of Fascist-party yes-men, is evidently suffering from an acute dose of *folie de grandeur,* and military tacticians in this country predicted with confidence this affliction of the vapors will disappear instantly, once his 18,000,000 bayonets were subjected to the pleasantries of modern-day warfare. The Italian loves a uniform but, in point of demonstrable fact, by and large he is an indifferent soldier and often a liability when the action is hot.

In past months, *The Living Age* has published articles disclosing the unquestioned detestation of the Italian for the Nazi, whom he fears, as well as the preponderance of sentiment in the country against war. No word of such widespread sentiment has appeared, of course, in the controlled Fascist press. But evidences accumulate of that people's marked disinclination for joining in this conflict in which, until their Duce's obscene declaration of war, they were never menaced by Britain or France.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have heard Italians in this country, recently returned from their native land, state they welcome Italy's participation—but not for Mussolini's reasons. We have no reason to distrust the remarks of more than a few intelligent Italians here, doing business with their compatriots, who have predicted with assurance that, once Italian troops met the French, the number of their rank-and-file desertions to the enemy would astonish the world, even those to whom the Italian soldier is not the most affrightening spectacle. Conceivably, in the minds of patriotic Italians, a "facilitated" defeat at the hands of France is far more desirable than enslavement to the Nazis which, in the event of a total Nazi victory, is the certain lot of a people overlong deluded by Europe's No. 2 Paranoiac.

Trade Picture

THE placating argument is being made, by some armchair economists here who see no reason for alarm over our trade position, as a result of the expanding war in Europe, that since approximately only 10 per cent of our total trade is represented by exports, the United States is relatively well-off, whatever happens to our European markets. At the moment, we can no longer trade with Germany, France, The Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Italy (and virtually all the nations bordering on the Mediterranean, i.e., the Balkans, Egypt and Palestine), Denmark and Norway—a total export trade valued, in 1938, at $590,050,000.

On the surface it would appear that a reduction of only 10 per cent in our total trade need not prove calamitous. Conceivably we might in time find other markets, in Latin America or the Far East, to compensate for our loss of export markets in Europe. What is commonly overlooked, however, is that this 10 per cent is, as in so many a small or large business, precisely the profit margin that permits continued operation. In our case that margin is proportionately so small, and its adjustment so delicate, that its dislocation can have a substantially adverse effect upon the living standards of even those within the most modest income brackets.

For the duration of the war, at least, it is altogether possible that this slack may be taken up, in part, in two ways. We may pre-empt, for a while, the belligerents' normal export business in Latin America and the Far East. Secondly, our own vast defence program (at this writing the figure has reached $5,200,000,000)—once it gets underway—may give an artificial stimulus to the domestic picture. You cannot expend $5,000,000,000 dollars, even in anticipated extra tax receipts, without momentarily increasing the national income. Much healthier income, manifestly, would be that derived from newly created markets for our goods. If Hitler eventually wins this war, our annual loss in foreign markets is likely to be at least twice the aforementioned figure, at least a billion dollars annually.

In any event, and whichever side wins, it is inevitable that our national economy will undergo fundamental readjustments. Economically speaking, life the past decade has not been excessively pleasant for millions of Americans; our living standards, we may as well realize fully, may be de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pressed even lower. It is indulging in ostrichism to argue that, since but 10 per cent of our trade is in markets overseas, its loss merely represents a dime out of each dollar. Assuming, of course, that you have a dollar.

Pacific Horizon

REALISTIC self-interest demands that the United States soon come to a definite understanding with Japan, with whom our relations now are on a sort of day-to-day basis. Anti-Japanese sentiment in this country is strong, due chiefly to the protracted war in China. Diplomatically speaking, however, the reason for the abrogation this year of the United States-Japanese treaty of 1911 had little to do with moral repugnance to Japanese aggression in China, but rather with the prolonged indifference of the Tokyo Government to the damage claims of American interests in China, whose properties have suffered by reason of the Japanese military operations and occupation.

In the present upheaval, the enigma is Soviet Russia, which has just patched up her long and costly quarrel with Japan over the Manchukuo-Outer Mongolia border. There are clear signs that, while Japan is being wooed by Moscow—conceivably with an eye to eventual displacement by these powers of Britain in India and China—Tokyo at this time has an intense interest in regularizing her relations with the United States. It would be well for us, whose defence problem has suddenly hit us between the eyes, not to have a potential enemy in the Pacific while a war of unprecedented dimensions rages on the other side of the Atlantic—in which ocean, incidentally, we have no navy at this time. Our immediate duty, it would seem, is to determine the depth of Japan's sincerity in wanting to stabilize her relations with Washington; we don't want to come to an agreement with Tokyo, only to learn in a few weeks that such an understanding might have the emptiness—and the inherent dangers—of another Munich. Particularly must we guard against any possible Japanese-Russian maneuver to jockey us into a position of siding with them against Britain in the Far East. Despite the anti-involvement utterances of Japanese cabinet members, it is a reasonable possibility that Japan may be driven into the German-Italian camp.

The United States is not yet a belligerent nor an ally of Britain, but the people of this country, we believe, at this time want no trade or other agreements with any bloc that may be preparing a Far Eastern equivalent of Mussolini's noisome performance of June 10 last.

THE LIVING AGE was established by E. Littell, in Boston, Massachusetts, May 1844. It was first known as LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, succeeding *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature*, which had been previously published in Philadelphia for more than twenty years. In a prepublication announcement of LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, in 1844, Mr. Littell said: "The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa into our neighborhood; and will greatly multiply our connections, as Merchants, Travelers, and Politicians, with all parts of the world; *so that much more than ever, it now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the condition and changes of foreign countries.*"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

German International

By LEWIS BERNSTEIN NAMIER

From the *Nineteenth Century and After,* London Independent Monthly

THE MOST effective, and yet as a rule the least impugned, "International" has been that of the Germans. A hundred years ago, it was the International of the dynasties, now it is of the German *Volksgemeinschaft.* In 1840, the ruling families of all the Great Powers, except France, and of most of the smaller countries, were in essence German, and there were many scores of dynasties in Germany, ruling or quondam sovereign, anxious to supply brides or candidates for any and every throne. In fact, the German guild of princes had managed to impose on Europe a German "racial" theory, utterly alien to the traditions of most other nations, about the blood sovereign having to be "uncontaminated" by that of non-princely families. Even for the eldest son of Louis-Philippe the bride had to be sought and found in what Bismarck, on another occasion, coarsely described as "the German stud." Nor could a new throne be raised anywhere from Mexico to Bulgaria, or an old one fall vacant, without a Coburg, a Habsburg, a Wittelsbach, or a Hohenzollern coming forward as candidate. The last, rather farcical, swarming of German princes occurred during the years 1914-18: the Prince of Wied in Albania, Austrian archdukes as candidates for the thrones of Poland and the Ukraine, the Duke of Urach aspiring to become "Mindowe II" of Lithuania, Friedrich Karl of Hesse as candidate for the Finnish throne, etc. A legend has been fostered of a German cosmopolitanism in the first part of the nineteenth century, a *Weltbürgertum,* a "universality" tinged with renunciation, when rather it was the case of an International based on the ubiquity of German dynasties, at a time when dynastic power was a reality.

That chapter is now closed for ever. But in the *Volksgenossen* it has left a heritage to the new phase of German influence. German permeation and colonization was furthered and encouraged by the princes. The Habsburgs did a great deal to Germanize their Czech and Slovene provinces, and planted German colonies in the Bukovina, the Carpathian Mountains, the Banat, Slavonia, etc. Catherine II (of Anhalt-Zerbst) and her successors settled German villages on the Volga, in Southern Russia, and in Bessarabia. And even in the original German migrations to Pennsylvania and Georgia, the Hanoverian connection was not without influence. There is no other nation possessing a state of its own which is so widely scattered over all the world as the German.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

While politics were mainly dynastic and most dynasties were German, these minorities, though often obnoxious or even oppressive to their neighbors, did not profess allegiance to an extraneous power, and were therefore not alien or hostile to the state. The rise of the Hohenzollern Empire in 1871 produced a new Pan-Germanism, at first held in check by Bismarck's realist genius, but subsequently stimulated by William II's unbalanced braggadocio. There was fervor and bombast in the Second Reich, mental indigestion and great efficiency. They talked *Urgeschichte*, Nordic trash, and Nietzschean a-morality, and they built up the most powerful modern industry and army. They prided themselves on their barbaric past, as no other nation ever did, and their actions were yet to bear witness both to that past and their pride in it. At the same time they claimed to be *ein Herrenvolk* with a mission as *Kulturträger*: the scattered German minorities were changing into conscious outposts of an aggressive creed. German trade combined with German politics, and both were carried into the world by emissaries from the Reich working with, on and through long-established minorities. In Austria the Pan-Germans, led by politicians from the Sudetenland, demanded a new and sharper *Kurs* (policy). The Habsburg dynasty, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Austrian army command, had done far more than the Hohenzollerns to spread *Deutschtum* in east-central and southeastern Europe; but they had learnt that dominion to be far-flung has to be at least tolerable. Such a system did not satisfy the Pan-German secondary-school teacher and the petty middle-class intelligentsia who aspired to power over their non-German neighbors: where there is to be a vast number of citizen-rulers, there must be a slave population. Young Hitler dreamt the turgid Pan-German dreams, resented the inferiority of his father who was a small Austrian official, was determined not to become one himself, and transferred the dislike and contempt which he felt for his father on to the Habsburgs, whose uniform and rosette his father wore. To him, as to others, the Hohenzollerns were the symbol of a victorious, virile, ruthless Germanism.

THIRTY-THREE years ago I heard at Lausanne University of a German lecturer who, referring to the French character of the place, exhorted a meeting of German students, his compatriots from the Reich: *"Mein Herren, gedenket immer, Ihr seid hier in Feindesland."* [1] (Incidentally, none of these students wearing "German colors" could have risked, even at that time, to be seen in company with a Jew, and they were highly indignant when they discovered that a man of Jewish origin had joined them in getting drunk on "the Kaiser's birthday.") The essentials of Hitlerism were being developed by the pre-war generation, and throughout the world the Germans were already flaunting their *Deutschtum* with a provocative arrogance such as only a rare combination of *Machtbewusstsein* (consciousness of power) and bad taste can produce. In spite of the widely different antecedents of the two men, William II was an unmistakable forerunner of Hitler, and the un-

[1] "Gentlemen, always bear in mind that you are here in enemy country."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PALO ALTO
PUBLIC LIBRA
READING RO

canny parallelism between them shows that they both truly voice the same element in Germany's national development and spirit.

German influence, powerfully operating at the center, had permeated the Habsburg monarchy and infected Tsarist Russia; yet the size of these empires had been also a check on Germany. At Versailles the map had been re-drawn against Germany; still, east and southeast of her, there was no state fit to offset the weight—political, military and economic—inherent in her numbers and organization. Even in the 1920's there were doubts about the stability of the French system, which was based on Poland and the Little Entente: hence the eager quest after the Geneva Protocol. The economic crisis, which opened in 1929, began an era in European history and supplied a dangerous background for the flourishes of a Mussolini, the fumblings of a Ramsay MacDonald, and the perplexities of French foreign policy. The depression affected the widest masses even in the remotest countries, produced "a crystallization of disappointments and prejudices," hardened "intolerance all the world over," and everywhere brought new political forces to the surface, violent and brutal—National Socialists and National Radicals, "patriotic fronts" and an "Iron Guard." The "Awakening Magyars" and the Italian Fascists had been forerunners of such movements; Hitler's victory made Germany their focus and model. The new totalitarian, dictatorial, anti-Semitic International found in every country its reflection, and in every German minority its transmitters: the response of the *Auslandsdeutsche* (Germans outside Germany), and especially of their youth, shows how deeply Nazism is rooted in the German character and instincts.

In international relations totalitarian systems have certain marked advantages over freer forms of government: there is no possibility of effective opposition under dictatorships, whereas the freedom of political life in non-totalitarian states enables Nazis and pro-Nazis to impede the work and undermine the position of those whom they mean to destroy. Colonel Beck and M. Stoyadinovich could pursue their fatal policy of collaboration with Hitler, unchecked by the intense dislike which the vast majority of Poles and Yugoslavs felt for it; while in democratic countries the "fifth column" could freely favor the dictators and work for the destruction of republican Spain and Czechoslovakia.

Another advantage results from the absolute control which dictatorships exercise over the economic system and transactions of their countries; a third, from the ease with which a political *volte-face* can be accomplished; a fourth, from the unmeasured, freely flaunted brutality of these professional thugs, which intimidates and, like a boa constrictor, fascinates "rabbits" among the leaders and the public.

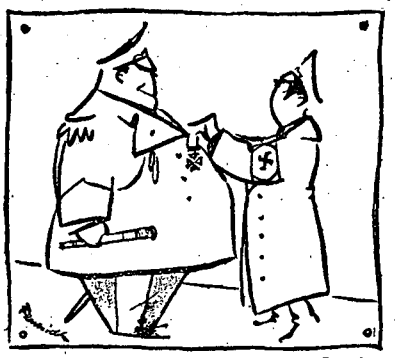
On a moderate estimate, the German minority amounts to 600,000 in Hungary; 600,000 in Yugoslavia; 750,000 in Rumania; and in Poland it was also about 750,000: a field for Nazi propagandist and organizing activities. Hungary had provinces to reclaim; Rumania, Yugoslavia and Poland to retain: a field for Nazi intrigue. There were more than 3,000,000 Jews in Poland, and there are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

almost 1,000,000 in Rumania and 600,000 in Hungary; outside Germany these are the three most anti-Semitic countries in the world: a happy field for Nazi racial doctrines. Truncated Hungary was as difficult to reorganize and govern as were the tassellated Succession States: a hungry, half-baked intelligentsia, rabid with nationalism, politics and ambitions, and corroded with the disillusionment of the post-war period, offered in these four countries rich seed plots for would-be dictators. The collapse of the markets for agricultural produce created a catastrophic position in these four great food-producing countries: Germany was the only important buyer, eager to take their unsaleable goods, but on terms and under a system which were to give her a stranglehold on the life of these countries.

Since 1919 the demand for treaty revision dominated the thoughts and policy of the Magyars. Theirs was a constant and indefatigable search for allies to effect such revision. As observed by Elizabeth Wiskemann in her *Undeclared War*:

"In 1932, just before Hitler came to power, General Gömbös became Prime Minister of Hungary. This man, like a considerable number of Hungarians, was half German by descent and almost Nazi in outlook, and from 1933 Nazi propaganda from Germany, countenanced by him and his protégés playing upon so many Magyar prejudices, made great strides."



—*News Chronicle*, London

AS the military strength of the Nazis and their political *élan* developed, the Magyars felt that here at last was a chance of realizing their national dream. Also personal interests worked in favor of the Nazis. ". . . from the time of Austria's fall, if not even earlier," adds Miss Wiskemann, "bureaucrats and important police officials and even one or two highly placed members of the judiciary seemed to be preparing, like many other Austrian officials before them, to stand on the right side of Hitler; they intended to be safe from dismissals or reprisals should any kind of Nazi régime—German or dependent upon Germany—be installed at Budapest."

At the general election of May 1938—two months after the *Anschluss*—the Hungarian Nazis, with financial and moral support from Germany, increased their representation from five or six to forty-three seats; while "perhaps half the Government party itself sympathized actively with the Nazis." When Czechoslovakia was partitioned in the autumn of 1939 the Magyars effected their first recovery of territory lost in 1918-19: they obtained a broad strip of country inhabited by Magyars and Slovaks along their northeastern border; and when, in March 1939, the Nazis entered Prague, the Magyars seized Carpatho-Russia and another slice of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Slovakia, this time rather against the wishes of Germany.

Nazi successes are Hungary's chance, but also Hungary's danger. With Austria incorporated in Germany, the Burgenland, one of Hungary's lost provinces, will be German so long as the Nazis remain supreme. If Nazi domination over the Czechs has given the Magyars one part of Slovakia, it has placed the rest under a German protectorate. Nor is it pleasing or safe for Hungary, containing a German minority of 500,000, to have so long a frontier with Germany and her Slovak protectorate. The Magyars are in danger of becoming German janissaries, *eine gleichgeschaltete Hilfsmacht.* They hope for further conquests and fear the price which they will be made to pay.

The German minority, which before the advent of the Nazis, in spite of a steady curtailment of their educational and cultural rights, professed fervent loyalty to the Hungarian Government, has assumed a different tone since 1933, and still more since 1938. They are now openly taught, and have accepted, the doctrine that their allegiance is primarily due to Hitler, the leader of the race, and that it is the mission of the Germans to rule over other, inferior races. Their demand for German schools in Hungary is pressed with marked success, and it is feared that a growing number of apparently assimilated Hungarians of German descent may wish to revert to the Germanism which nowadays involves the possibility of privilege. Dr. Basch himself, elected in December 1938 as president of the Nazi *Volksbund der Deutschen in Ungarn,* was once a Hungarian chauvinist. In the General Election of 1938, with the connivance of the Hungarian Government, pressure was exerted on the Hungarian Germans to vote for the Nazi candidates: these secured about two-thirds of their votes.

Meantime the Hungarian Government, both in order to please and to check the Nazis, has adopted parts of their program, foremost in the matter of anti-Jewish restrictions. The prime minister who introduced the legislation, M. Imredy, is himself of German descent (but when it was proved against him that he has also some Jewish blood he had to resign). Ousting the Jews helps the German economic conquest of Hungary. Most of her industries and trade were developed and worked by the Jews; of roughly 3,000 factories about 1,500, including all the major concerns, were in their hands. There are too few Magyars fit or available to fill the place of all the Jews who are to be displaced, and consequently jobs and business will pass into the hands, or under the control, of the Germans. It is the Nazi aim in Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia to render the economy of these countries subservient and complementary to that of Germany: they are to specialize in the production of food and raw materials required by Germany, but to engage in industry only where it is of a non-competing character.

IN Rumania the main opponents of the Nazi creed and of a pro-German policy are the notorious Iron Guard, a Rumanian version of a quasi-mystical *Volkstum*. The "racial" game, however, was spoilt a little by the fact that their leader, Zelea Codreanu alias Zielinski, a young man

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of romantic appearance, was not of Rumanian but of Polish extraction, with an admixture of German or even Hungarian blood (similarly in the case of Major Szalasi, the leader of the Magyar Nazis, the enthusiasm for Magyar racial purity was impaired by the discovery of his own mixed Armenian-Slovak-German descent). The Iron Guard, which was indebted to Germany for much of its income and of its revolutionary *élan,* indulged in the extremest forms of anti-Semitism, demanded a complete dictatorship with a social revolutionary program, and both threatened and practiced assassination. They also demanded the merciless assimilation of minorities in Rumania: and nonetheless had the active support of the German Nazis sensitive to real or alleged sufferings of German minorities only when it suits their game.

Governing circles in Rumania, even when opposed to the Iron Guard, often display the "hypnotized rabbit" condition. In various ways they show favor to the Iron Guard, while trying to get away with some of its popularity. One anti-Semitic measure after another is introduced in Rumania, and in between the assassination of ministers by the Iron Guard and the killing of Iron Guards "while trying to escape," the Government blows hot and cold on them, and endeavors to capture their following. It tries to attract young people by the blue uniforms of the "Front of National Rebirth," complete with fascist salutations and "Sanatate," the Rumanian equivalent for the Nazi "Heil."

Meantime in Rumania, as in Hungary, the German minority is being drawn or forced into the Nazi organization. The Transylvanian Saxons, who always felt a racial superiority over the Rumanians, readily accepted the Nazi creed. The conquest of the Catholic Swabians took a longer time, but since the Austrian *Anschluss,* and still more since Munich, even among them all opposition to the Nazis has disappeared. During the mobilization of March and April 1939, the German minority showed in many cases undisguised contempt for the Rumanians; and when in September 1939, the German armies advanced through Southern Poland toward Rumania, these Germans openly avowed themselves what Hitler means them to be: part of his *Volk.* Seeing what happened in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, a member of the German minority in Rumania hardly dares to keep out of the Nazi organizations, for fear of being treated, after a conquest by Germany, as a *Volksverräter* (traitor to his people).

In Yugoslavia the conflict between Croats and Serbs, and even the widespread Serb opposition to the dictatorship and the Stoyadinovich administration, offered the Nazis rich opportunities for political intrigue; it is one of their regular methods to play everywhere upon the difficulties between government and governed, and by alarming rulers to impel them to take unpopular measures. Every aspect of the Croat question was developed with customary zeal. While the Croats were thus intended for the part which the Slovaks had played in the disruption of Czechoslovakia, confidential instructions circulated by the Nazis among the German minority in Croatia described them as "half savage."

The German minority, effectively organized by Nazi emissaries and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaders, at elections was made to support the Stoyadinovich régime against which the Croats were being incited. All districts of Yugoslavia comprising a German population were covered with branches of the *Kulturbund*, were given libraries stocked with Nazi literature and were provided with German schools.

GERMANY'S economic hold on Yugoslavia was even more complete than that on Hungary and Rumania; for economically Yugoslavia was more closely connected with Austria and Czechoslovakia, and since the conquest of these two countries Germany's investments in Yugoslavia outstrip those of any other country. The same methods as in Hungary and Rumania were practiced to acquire a virtual monopoly of Yugoslavia's foreign trade. For several years past, Germany has bought Yugoslav agricultural products at prices at least 25 to 30 per cent above the world price level, and now compensates herself by manipulating the exchange. It is not easy to translate into exact figures this barter business, which is lauded by Nazi propaganda as something pure, simple and noble, and contrasted with the money-economy and transactions of the Western Powers, the "*démodé* capitalism" of greedy foreign usurers, either Jews or men imbued with Jewish ideas. With Austria and Czechoslovakia engulfed in the German system, and Italy impoverished by the Abyssinian and Spanish wars, Yugoslavia was in danger of becoming more and more a German economic dependency.

When the history of the war is written, the services rendered by Germans domiciled in Poland as Nazi spies during the military campaign will deserve attention: they were widespread and effective, and remarkably well organized, and the Nazis succeeded in pressing into their service even many Germans settled in Poland for generations. Nor was the part of these "minority Germans" less discreditable after the Nazi régime had been established in Poland: in various parts of the country they have formed themselves into a *Selbschutz* (self-defence)—what this is could easily be guessed. But it is necessary —an article in the *Völkischer Beobachter* boasts that men of this organization "with their knowledge of the Polish language are able to trace the most secret places of refuge of Polish criminals, and have in every way proved the most efficient scouts." Lastly, to be a *Volksdeutscher* in Poland under Nazi occupation is to be master of the lives and property of Poles and Jews; he is free to rob and kill, and only too many among the "minority" Germans in Poland seem to have taken advantage of the opportunities thus offered.

IN view of the doctrine openly proclaimed by the Nazis that Germans, wherever born and of whatever state they are citizens, owe allegiance, first and foremost, to the German *Volk* and its Führer; in view of the use so effectively made of German minorities for the disruption or enslavement of the states in which they live; and lastly, in view of the behavior of vast numbers, possibly of a majority, of the Germans inhabiting Poland—any State containing a German "Aryan" minority within its borders will have to consider in future whether it is safe to have them.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In one opinion, it is bad theology and a contradiction of biology

Investigation in Pacifism

By C. E. SILCOX

From *Maclean's Magazine*, Canadian Monthly

THE word "pacifist" as generally used implies a conscientious objection to war and violence as a method of settling international disputes, and when so defined, pacifists present many difficult questions to a government engaged in war. The difficulties become more complicated since there are many different kinds of pacifism, and it is not easy to differentiate between bona fide conscientious objectors and others. Some of these objectors are not pacific at all but only isolationists.

They have no particular theory on the matter of violence, except that they do not wish to become involved in violent international struggles. Others distinguish between offensive and defensive warfare, vigorously affirming their readiness to fight if their own borders are attacked, even if they fail to realize that sometimes only offensive action can forestall the necessity of defensive action. Still others are radicals, and some of those who have been loudest in their clamor for peace would applaud vigorously a social revolution, however bloody, which fitted in with their own particular set of prejudices. Indeed, if such a revolution broke out, they might be found at the barricades. And there are others yet—the "tender-minded" as opposed to the "tough-minded"—who, on æsthetic or moral grounds, find war extremely repellent and shrink from the dangers and ugliness inherent in modern warfare. Of course, most people hate war wholeheartedly and believe that it is a method of solving international disputes which must be outgrown, but they would vehemently deny that they were "pacifists."

The attitude of the genuine pacifist, however, is rooted in a religious or philosophical belief in the wickedness or futility of the use of violence. For the most part this pacifism is an integral part of the fundamental doctrine of certain religious sects, such as the Quakers, the Mennonites and the Doukhobors. The early migrations

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of members of these groups to Canada followed assurances from the Canadian Government that they would never be called upon to serve in the Canadian militia. On August 20, 1792, Governor Simcoe wrote a letter to Lord Dundas, then secretary for the colonies, in which he told him that he had given such assurances to a group of Quakers who wished to migrate from the United States to Canada, and he added that the British Government had always given such exemption to the Quakers. When Tsar Alexander II insisted that the Mennonites who had settled in the southern part of Russia render some indirect military service, they decided to emigrate, and on July 23, 1873, the Canadian Government ordained that an "entire exemption from military service is by law and order in council granted to the denomination of Christians called Mennonites." A similar exemption was given to the Doukhobors in 1898.

Perhaps the greatest contribution which religious pacifism has made to Canadian life was in the suggestion of Richard Rush, an American Quaker, who, as attorney general of the United States and later as ambassador to England, urged the unguarded boundary line between the United States and Canada. It was he who negotiated the Rush-Bagot Treaty 125 years ago, and our security has largely been made possible by that agreement.

CHRISTIANITY stems from Judaism, and there was a Jewish pacifist tradition before Christianity. David was not allowed to build the temple because he had been a "man of blood," and that honor was reserved for his son Solomon, who was a good business man. Many of the prophets advised their people not to contract entangling alliances with neighboring powers, but while there is some difference of opinion regarding the reasons for their counsels, it is fairly clear that they recognized, at least in part, the futility of alliances which would only make the people of Israel the losers in any war that might follow, and Palestine the battlefield.

It is possible that a somewhat similar realism was to some extent responsible for the teaching of non-resistance in the Sermon on the Mount. Palestine was seething, at the time, with the spirit of revolt. As one of the apocalyptic writers of the day put it: Israel had been a sheep among wolves, but during the Maccabean revolts, the glorious memory of which was still cherished, some of the lambs had sprouted horns. The people still hoped for liberation from Roman domination. Groups of Zealots, as they were called, were eager for the overthrow of the foreigners, and some of the Zealots were in the intimate circle of the first apostles. But the founder of the Christian faith advised against force and counselled a better way. If the Jews revolted, there would not be left one stone of the temple of Herod upon another. Thirty-five years after the Crucifixion the Jews did revolt. The temple of Herod and the best part of the city itself was ruthlessly destroyed, as he had foreseen.

Christ's teaching regarding non-resistance, which became central in the writings of Leo Tolstoy, must be interpreted against the historic milieu in which the teaching was given, and also in the tendency of the teacher to couch his precepts in the form of hy-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perbole and parables, leaving individuals to make their own applications of the generalities to concrete situations. It must be obvious to any mature mind that soft answers do often turn away wrath. But this is not always the case, and when one deals with a bully who is itching for a fight, it is sometimes necessary to accommodate him. It is also well to remember that a system of ethics which is built on the expectation of a speedy end of the existing order may need some modification when the expected cataclysm fails to materialize. It is difficult to practice here and now ethical teaching which, one may well believe, will be universal and generally practicable only when a new era has dawned. Christian pacifists must also consider the great distinction between the responsibilities which must be borne by persons who exercise all the privileges of citizenship and those who do not, and in the Christian beginnings relatively few of the disciples were, like St. Paul, citizens, or had any real share in the determination of national policies. Today, Christians are citizens as well as disciples, and that fact involves the Christian apologist in grave difficulties.

Whatever the significance of the teaching regarding non-resistance, we do know that the Roman armies during the first three centuries did enlist Christians. To be sure, there was controversy about it, but the very attacks on the practice made by Origen, Tertullian and Lactantius indicate that Christians did serve with the armed forces.

APART from the vexed question of the deeper meaning of the teaching on non-resistance, and the compromise philosophy of the historic church which permitted participation in the armies of the state, a thoroughgoing pacifism, while praiseworthy as a hope for a better day when war shall be no more, is, the world being what it is, open to serious objections.

In the first place, it too often adheres to a false interpretation of *history*. The pacifists frequently assert that war never settles anything. That is a palpable exaggeration unless one is prepared to deal entirely in absolutes and in the inevitable march of moral values in a world in which a thousand years are as a day. Wars often settle things very badly, but they do settle them and sometimes permanently, the world being never the same again afterwards. The Civil War in the United States did settle the question of slavery. The victory of Charles Martel at the Pyrenees did prevent the Islamization of Europe. The cynic may say that Europe would have been much better if it had been Islamized, but whether that is a proper assumption or not, the Battle of Tours decreed otherwise, and if Europe is to be Islamized eventually, the process has at least been delayed more than a thousand years.

Pacifism ignores the teachings of biology. From one point of view it may be admitted that modern warfare is dysgenic, taking the best and leaving the worst, but, from another point of view, biology teaches us that the law of self-preservation is a fundamental law of life, and nature has armed nearly all its creatures with the means of survival in a world in which competition seems to be a law of life—not the only law but one of the laws.

The will to live is still an important

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

part of our physical and spiritual endowment, and if we do away with war, biological fitness requires that we not only develop what William James called "the moral equivalent of war," but also a social system which will provide those who have a will to live with the necessary security.

PACIFISM also misunderstands the essential and positive meaning of the state. It rests upon a defective view of *politics*. The state is not merely negative but positive, not only a terror to those who do evil but an incentive to those who do good. The state exists to protect not merely itself but the fundamental rights of all its citizens, and a true state will marshal all its forces to protect the well-being of any of its individual components. Citizens cannot well accept the privileges and protection which the state affords unless they are willing to accept the responsibilities which go with such privileges, and to pay the price which may be required when the state and all the interests inherent in the state are threatened. *Contrariwise, the moralist must remind the nation's political leaders that they have no moral justification in demanding that the citizens rally to the defence of the state if, in their own shortsightedness, they have refused to provide a basic and minimum security for all its citizens.*

Pacifism gets into hopeless confusion when it sets the gospel over against the *law*. It fails to understand the historical importance of law. St. Paul taught that the law was a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, and it is quite true that when men begin to organize their lives around a spiritual rather than a legal principle, the law fades into relative insignificance. When we turn from the field of personal morality to international morality, nations are clearly still in the stage of anarchy and have not yet reached a recognition of the higher requirements of international law.

To try to live as if we had passed out of the stage of international law into an era of universal peace and goodwill when we have not yet entered the stage of international law, is to put the cart before the horse.

Pacifism is *bad ethics* because the pacifists cling to an absolute ethic in a world which is obviously relative. The weakness of such thinking is in the fact that it ignores the necessity of a compromise between a world of glorious idealities toward which they work and a world of horrible realities in which they still find themselves.

Pacifism is bad *psychology*. It is frequently asserted that war is sin, but it is high time that the theologians began to think of sin less in terms of ancient jurisprudence and more in terms of modern psychology, discarding legal for biological analogies. Sin is death. War is disease, and it is largely psychopathic. It is due to illusions and clearly felt but misunderstood pressures.

How are we to treat people or nations who have "gone mental"? There are times when a psychiatrist can help to relieve the victim of a psychosis, but sometimes it is beyond his skill; and then only the use of force will adequately protect society from the possible ravages of the mania. The pacifist who will do nothing to restrain by force a mad nation is like a man who will not do so to restrain a madman.

Pacifism is bad *theology*. The pacifists urge too sentimental and romanti-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cist a view of God. To them, He is Absolute Love and nothing else in the same degree. God is not alone Love: He is also Law and Justice and many other things, equally important, and to assume that He is Love and Love alone is an illusion and bad theology, for it gets one into endless difficulties with the problem of evil.

MANY pacifists also confuse the death of the body with the death of the soul. Christ taught that we should have no fear of those who killed the body but only of Him who was able to cast both body and soul into Hell. There is a type of pacifism which exalts the material values and minimizes the spiritual values, which, the whole Christian tradition affirms, persist when the body has returned to the dust.

Some day, in a new world order, the pacifist may see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied. Some pacifists today, notably the Quakers, are rendering an heroic and noble service of outstanding significance to civilization. But, while most people will be ready to give honor to a divine hope where that honor is due, they must reject the philosophy of pacifism as unworkable in the kind of world in which we live.

Not All Italians Are Fascists

At a time last month when French-Italian relations had nearly reached the explosion-point, the *Union Populaire Italienne,* composed of 850,000 Italians living in France, issued an appeal to its members for loyalty to France. Also sponsoring the appeal were the Association of Italian War Veterans in France and the society known as the "Garibaldians of the Argonne."

In part, the text was as follows:

"The great battle has begun. The Hitler barbarians want to dominate Europe. You Italians of France, you who have found here fraternity, liberty and bread and, for most of you, a measure of well-being, you know that if France falls it will mean the end of Europe and, perhaps, of civilization and human progress throughout the world.

"Silence your petty squabbles. Do your duty passionately. Help France by fighting with her armies, or by working with her workers and her peasants. Join in the labor of resistance and defence.

"Twenty-five years ago you marched side by side with France. Today France is the defender of the world's liberty. She will triumph. We expect that your voice, the voice of the heart of the Italian people, will respond."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Englishman finds it different but not inferior to his own fleet

A Briton Views the French Navy

By SOMERSET MAUGHAM

From the *Listener*, Organ of the British Broadcasting Corporation

THESE are stirring times for us all and we are watching the exploits of the British navy with deep admiration. We are confident in the strength of our magnificent ships and we know the courage, the daring and the skill of the crews that man them. We know that they will never hesitate at any sacrifice that is demanded of them. We know that they will do their duty.

But it is of the French navy that I wish to tell you something here. The French navy doesn't advertise its activities, it goes about its job so modestly and so quietly that the public—not only the British public, but the French too—has little notion either of its strength or of the splendid work is has done since war broke out. It is extremely efficient, it is powerful and it is modern.

At present the French navy consists of six battleships of the most modern type. Several ships of 35,000 tons are under construction and one of these is nearly ready. It has besides seven big cruisers, ten smaller cruisers, and thirty of 3,000 tons. It has fifty destroyers and eighty submarines. You see this is a formidable power.

The French navy has acted in close co-operation with the British navy and to show how close this co-operation is I may tell you that at the moment when the British Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean needed more ships he applied to the French Admiralty for the loan of such as he wanted and these were immediately lent to him. In association with our ships French ships escorted British troops across the Channel and escorted troops from Canada and Australia. They have operated with our ships off the coast of Ireland and they were in the South Atlantic when the *Graf Spee* was brought to her shameful end.

All this the French navy has done in association with the British navy, but it has had its own special tasks to perform. Moreover, it has protected the great Atlantic ports of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

France and Morocco and has transported several hundred thousand men from the French colonies to France. It has enabled supplies of every description to be brought to France in perfect safety.

Since the outbreak of the war the French navy has captured a considerable number of German merchant ships and has seized more than 500,000 tons of German merchandise. It has taken its fair share in sinking and damaging German submarines. The *Siroco* alone, a torpedo boat, certainly sank two and probably three.

I should add that the French navy has its own aviation and the planes are manned by naval officers. They have attacked submarines and performed with equal efficiency all the other duties which are carried out by our own coastal command.

I think you will agree with me that this is a record of which our Allies may well feel proud. But strangely enough they take it for granted. The fact is that the Frenchman is above all an infantryman. He is justly proud of his army. It is well-armed, well-led and the spirit of the men is as admirable as it has always been. The great battles it has fought and won are of imperishable memory. It was on their splendid armies that the French confided to achieve victory. They have never taken the same interest in their navy.

It behooves us then, for we are a seafaring nation and we know that our navy is the safeguard of our liberties, to give the French navy the credit which is its due.

I WAS fortunate enough to be invited to spend a little time on a French battleship and a little time more on a torpedo boat, and I went to sea in them while they carried out their routine exercises. Since not many British people have had this opportunity, and certainly no British civilian, I think it may interest you to know a little of what I saw. You must remember that the English and the French are very different from one another in many ways, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that because the French don't do certain things in our way, they do them worse. One of the things we have got to do, we and the French, is to try to understand one another and make allowances for differences of temperament and of outlook. There are men who like to play golf and there are men who like to play tennis. Well, each has a right to his own taste, and to look down on your neighbor because he doesn't share yours is merely stupid. In the instance I have just mentioned the end is the same, to take pleasant exercise, and how you take it is your own affair. So if I point out certain things in the French navy that struck me as different from ours, you must not think for a moment that I mean to condemn them. I should be inclined to say that compared with a man in the British navy the French sailor is untidy. He is not so smart in his dress nor so smart in his bearing. One has the impression that a good deal of the ship's work is done in a rather happy-go-lucky way, but the fact remains that it is done and done very well. When an order is given it is carried out, but not with quite the machine-like precision which we are used to in the British navy.

The French sailor enters the navy as a conscript, but it is a good profession and after his service he often

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stays in; he's an intelligent, quick-witted man. He likes to know what he is up to and likes to be treated as a rational being. I got the impression that a truly democratic feeling obtains in the French navy. There is less class-consciousness in France than there is in England and this makes the relations of men, whatever their social status, more fraternal. You see, the whole nation is in arms, men in every rank of society are together, bearing the same discomforts and exposed to the same dangers. The rather grubby uniform of the French rating may clothe the body of a fisherman or a farm laborer, but it may also clothe the body of a smart man-about-town, the bearer of a great title or a millionaire. Discipline is maintained, of course, for discipline is essential, but I think in the French navy there exists between officers and men not only confidence, but a sort of quiet friendliness. The rating when he is speaking to an officer doesn't address him as "sir" but by his rank. Officers and men smoke where and when they please on board, during working hours and out of them, and I couldn't help thinking that this might have something to do with the sense of comradeship that seemed to me so pleasant. Tobacco is a great leveller.

THE officers are professional sailors. Those I was fortunate enough to meet appeared to me clever, keen and competent. They are naturally energetic and that is lucky for them, since they are kept hard at work from morning till night. Essentially, sailors are the same in every country and the brotherhood of the sea unites them, but still the British officer isn't quite the same sort of man as his French colleague. The ceremony with which officers in the French navy treat one another seems to us rather elaborate. On meeting for the first time in the day, a junior officer salutes his superior; they invariably shake hands and exchange a few civil words. The junior says: "My respects, commander," while the senior replies, "How are you?" or "Are you well?" I received the impression that the terms on which officers stand with one another were cordial without being intimate. The French officer, I fancy, is apt to keep himself to himself.

I think there are reasons for this. The family is the center of a Frenchman's life, its mainstay and its justification. It was plain enough that the commander of the ship I was on was proud of it, as the racing motorist might be proud of the car in which he had won a great race, but it was not his home. His home was the house at Brest or Toulon where his wife and children waited for him. I should say that the French officer chooses the sea for his profession as other men choose a career in the city and when he leaves his ship does so as they would leave their office. That doesn't mean he doesn't love the sea. He does. He enjoys the opportunities which the treacheries of the element give him for the exercise of his will and intelligence, but I think he keeps the tenderness of his emotion for the countryside of his birthplace. It is a difference of temperament, and in no way impairs his efficiency. For the British officer the sea is a vocation, while to the French it is an honorable way of earning his living.

On a French ship the food is uncommonly good. Lunch is at noon and is a copious and well-cooked meal. I

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could not have eaten better in a first-class restaurant, and patriotic though I am, I must confess that lunch on a French torpedo boat is a much more palatable meal than any I have eaten on an admiral's flagship in the British navy. Messing, by the way, is paid for by the Government, and this covers all drinks, so that there is no mess bill except for cigarettes. The men's food is good too—I know because I ate it—it's well cooked and not too monotonous, and every man gets half a bottle of red wine at each of the principal meals. He enjoys it.

Let us British rejoice that we can rely implicitly on the invaluable and whole-hearted co-operation of this highly trained and highly efficient navy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One observer cites U. S. oil companies' aid to fifth column below Rio Grande

Mexico, Focal Point of Invasion

By BRYCE OLIVER

TO BORROW an expression from General Weygand, the United States may now be entering the last "quarter hour" of complacency. Events in Mexico are driving inexorably to what the Washington Government believes may be civil war. In Mexico, D. F., newspaper columnists write: "Beware the ides of July."

At the start, following the elections of July 7, it may be confused with revolution—the outs against the ins—but powerful forces representing the sides of the European struggle for a new "design for living" are already entrenched. All of the authoritarian forces, Communist, Fascist and Nazi, are prepared to make use of the conflict as a point of Western Hemisphere invasion. I mean this just as literally as I mean that Axis and Communist intervention in Spain was invasion. And for reasons which will appear later, democracy in Mexico may find itself as helpless as it was in Spain. The same elements are present.

A Nazi-fascist victory in Mexico might even result in the now-dreaded blow by the Axis against the United States, for this has been an aim of German leaders since early in 1917, when Germany's Foreign Minister Zimmermann attempted to buy a Mexican diversion against the flank of the United States with promises of support, in case of a German victory over the Allies, for Mexico's traditional claim to "the lost territories" in Texas, Arizona and New Mexico.

Since the beginning of the war last September Americans have argued over bars, tables and desk tops about the possibility of Axis-Japanese invasion of the United States. To most, it has been inconceivable, but disclosures of fifth-column methods, translated finally into the terms of Latin America, have been slowly awakening the nation to the realities. But not yet, however, are the "Gringos" even vaguely familiar with the possibilities, which are an old story in the *cantinas* of Mexican cities and sub-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ject of occasional innuendo in the Mexican press. In 1917 the German proposals were intercepted before they could be transmitted to the German Minister in Mexico City through the offices of Count von Bernsdorff, the German Ambassador at Washington.

Mexico is not without Great Power support. She is wooed by the Axis powers and by the Comintern, either one of which could make excellent use of the exposed flank along the Rio Grande. And now, if revolution breaks as expected, and develops as indicated into civil war, the United States may soon know which side of this conflict over a living design we may have to deal with.

But today, unlike 1915, we are no longer free agents to deal with dangers developing within Mexico to our exposed flank. Unless we are prepared to drive all of Latin America to the side of an enemy, we must studiously avoid intervention in the affairs of Mexico, no matter what may develop. To intervene, as some thoughtless legislators and militarists have already suggested, would violate the Pan-American compact which provides for consultation among the twenty-one Americas and brand the United States as an aggressor. Thus the United States is committed in advance to a hands-off policy unless there is an actual danger that a foreign power will attempt to land troops to support one side or the other.

SINCE the start of the war in Europe, there has been a good deal of loose talk in the *cantinas* not only of foreign intervention but—in some circles—of a "Mexico Irredenta." There have been a good many reminders of the German proposals of 1917, and those who have had any opportunity whatsoever to study Mexico realize that it is no more fantastic for Mexicans to talk of her "lost territories" than it has been for the Italian Fascisti to talk of Nice and Savoy.

The first time I heard the expression "Mexico Irredenta," was a day in the late summer of 1923 when Obregón was pondering the terms of United States recognition. George Carothers, once of our State Department and one of the few Americans in Mexico who knew what the revolution was all about, made the surprising statement that no revolution in Mexico could be a true one unless it involved war against the United States.

"That's what our people don't seem to understand," he said. "Put it this way: Every fundamental change in Mexico must be fought by the United States unless the United States itself undergoes the same fundamental change. But the United States won't change to accept the views of these people. If I'm wrong, and the revolution should be pushed to the limit in Mexico, in defiance of the United States, then the next thing would be for some wild Indian to get up and holler about Texas as 'Mexico Irredenta.'"

At the time, any mention of Mexico Irredenta seemed completely out of the picture. Like a hundred and twenty million other American *Yanquis,* I thought that the World War had settled the affairs of the world for all time, leaving the United States the undisputed arbiter of everything on this hemisphere. I had, it is true, heard this somewhat fatuous view disputed in Brazil, in Argentina and once

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the president-elect of a Caribbean republic. But I felt certain that any "wild Indian" who might want to make a battle cry of Mexico Irredenta would certainly have to bring in some foreign power in order to make it ring. And in 1923 that was one of the inconceivables.

I had almost forgotten about it—it happened so long ago—until the other day, in Chicago, I ran into a group of people interested in Mexico. One of them was a bright young man from Málaga, Spain, who is now representing a Monterrey (Mexico) business house on the side and doing his bit for Mexican civil war in Franco style as a full-time job. He talked bitterly of President Cárdenas, lazy peasants, thieving workers, grafting civil servants, and especially of the foul service a gentleman receives from restaurant waiters. He indicated that it was the fault of the Communists, who had Cárdenas taking his orders from Moscow.

"But we will show them their place in Mexico just as we showed them their place in Spain," he said.

"Whom? The Communists?"

"No, the whole lot of them, and you in the United States will thank us, because—if you don't know it already—some of them are already talking about laying claim to lands in Texas."

"And will General Almazán stop all that?" I was referring to General Juan Andreu Almazán, strongest opposition candidate for the presidency, whose followers comprise most of the army officers and the militant clericals, the same people who supported Franco in Spain. [See page 445.]

"Stop what? The Communists?"

"No, this wild talk about Texas."

"He will if he gets the right kind of support from this country. If he doesn't get it from this country he can get it from other countries and then, maybe, the talk about Texas would become louder, my friend, and not less."

LET'S get this straight. There seems to be some confusion of ideas here. The gentleman from Monterrey tells us that we in the United States will thank the Almazanistas for saving us from a Mexico Resurgent crying for "Mexico Irredenta." But in the next breath he tells us that unless the United States supports Almazán some other country or countries will be invited to help a different kind of Mexico Resurgent to cry even more loudly for Texas Irredenta.

But what basis is there for giving any serious consideration to the possibility that the cry may be raised as an outgrowth of the present war? Well, the realities begin to emerge in Mexico. Early in June, as the German armies began to pound at Paris and the problem of American Hemisphere defence began to trouble Washington, great numbers of pamphlets started to appear on the streets of the city of Vera Cruz and throughout the state of the same name. These pamphlets praised the German army, attacked Washington's foreign policy, and concluded with:

"Long live Mexico, free, great and powerful with her states of Texas, California, Arizona, Colorado and the segment of Chamizal. Long live the German people and welcome to the Italian people."

So the prediction was coming true. The cry was being raised, and raised purposefully. What was it Carothers had said? "If this revolution should eventually win, it would have to be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

won in defiance or even in war against the United States."

But before this cry of "Texas Irredenta"—forgetting the other states named—could become a battle cry, the thirty-year revolution in Mexico would have to be pressed to a final solution. In Spain, both sides of the civil war were revolutionary; the struggle was over *what kind* of a revolution. In Mexico, it is now obvious that the struggle will be over *what kind* of a revolution. The revolution itself is a fact and Cárdenas has pressed it home, but whether it will end in a nationalist state or an internationalist state is yet to be determined. And blood is ready to flow in the determination.

Two great world systems are maneuvering for position at the start of the conflict, and either one of them is capable of raising the banner of open revolt—war if you please—against the United States. The distribution of the pamphlets coincided miraculously with the warning of Virginio Gayda, mouthpiece of the Italian Foreign Office, that if the United States should interfere in Europe we would find a "great European power" intervening in America against us. The Mexican pamphlets underlined the warning.

THERE is a still further reason for putting the finger on the Axis. Revolutionary as it is—and anti-capitalistic—the Cárdenas Government leans heavily upon the United States for support and has joined with the United States and the other powers of the Hemispere in the protest against the German invasions. This Cárdenas Government is no friend of Hitler and the Communists are supporting Cárdenas, although Cárdenas is no Communist. They are not likely at this point to embarrass his relations with the Roosevelt Administration, and so the chances are that they would prefer for the moment to soft-pedal the "Texas Irredenta" cry. Moreover, reality compels the acknowledgment that the Communist "party line" never has paralleled the sentiments of those Mexican pamphlets.

If the Communists must then be acquitted on this evidence (for the time being at least), we know which side of the gathering civil war is responsible for the raising of this dangerous cry against the United States. And the logical sequence is the bitterest kind of disillusionment for the gullible aristocrats of American business, financers and churchmen—but mostly the oil interests—who have been intervening in Mexico against Cárdenas on the ground that he has not cast into the outer darkness the Communist influences which so persistently support him. Those who have given money, propaganda and moral support to Almazán must now discover for themselves that their own country may reap the whirlwind. Too late some of them are now attempting to backtrack by lending support to a proposal (heard as often in Wall Street as in Mexico City) that the best solution would be for Cárdenas to accomplish a military coup d'état and postpone the elections indefinitely. Cárdenas could not do that without himself precipitating the struggle which he has been attempting to avoid. There have been open threats by the Almazanistas that if it appears that such a coup is likely, Almazán will strike at once, before the election date.

It is regarded as a foregone conclu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion that in a fairly conducted election, General Manuel Avila Camacho, candidate of P. R. M. [Government] will receive a majority of the popular vote, including the solid vote of the powerful C. T. M. (Mexican Confederation of Labor). This Confederation is unquestionably infiltrated by the Comintern, but not to the extent widely believed. There has been a great deal of confusion of thought about this Communist infiltration in Mexico. The Comintern is extremely active—of that there is no doubt whatever—and considers Mexico of such paramount importance to the program of Western Hemisphere revolution that it has concentrated in Mexico some of its ablest agents, among them Peter Manouilsky, vice-president of the Comintern, and, for a time, James W. Ford, Negro candidate of the Communist Party for vice-President of the United States. Another who has been active in Mexico is Leon Haikiss, the former Soviet Ambassador to the Spanish Republic and the man who was considered more responsible than any one other for imposing Communist directives upon the defence of the Republic. These are the leaders of the group of agents who seek to impose similar Communist direction upon the Mexican Revolution.

The presence and activities of these men, who are believed to have control of some of the gold removed from Spain, offers a broad target of attack against the Mexican Government itself and against Camacho, the candidate favored by the Soviet agents. The opportunity has been used by American and British oil interests, who have subsidized an organization in Rockefeller Center, New York, which is euphemistically called the "Committee on Mexican Relations." The sole purpose of the "committee" has been to force a settlement of the oil expropriation issue which would be favorable to the American and British oil companies. The presence and activities of the Communist agents has been the "committee's" most powerful weapon. If there were no such agents in Mexico the "committee" would have to create something just as good.

The output of this "committee" has been directed not only to the United States press and radio but to the Mexican press. United States newspaper correspondents, who were sent to Mexico City two months ago—to be in at the kill—brushed up on Mexico in the editorial offices of *Prensa* (the leading Almazanista newspaper) and other large newspapers which have been less conspicuously pro-Almazán. They miraculously produced reports for the United States public which practically paralleled the handouts of the Committee on Mexican Relations, in New York.

General Almazán himself is no great believer in the Communist charge against the C. T. M., but uses it in a cynical bid for the support of the United States oil companies, the upper-class press and such militant clericals as he can muster. Almazán was willing to be as "communistic" as any of the others. Until the time the Government party refused him the nomination last November. His party, the National Union Revolutionary Party (P.R.U.N.) corresponds to the Falange in Spain, but like the Falange it is just as revolutionary as the Government and the P.R.M. It is with the leaders of the P.R.U.N. that the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

German and Italian agents operate. And leaders of the P.R.U.N. wear uniforms of army officers of high rank.

Mexico City is a veritable Pandora's box of intriguing foreign agents these days. Always the city itself tends to resemble more and more the Paris of 1917 and before. Tourists from the United States swarm the *avenidas* and the hotel lobbies, for the "States" are beginning to discover Mexico City's eternal springtime. But there are other "tourists" too. They are "tourists" more interested in the eternal struggle for world power. They are not interested in Mexico for the Mexicans nor in oil for Wall Street. They are primarily interested in the exposed flank of the United States. That the present Government fears the eventualities in this situation, is made clear by the action of Cárdenas in strategically placing a large military force where it can cut off the north from the south of Mexico.

IN THE present war the United States has two choices in Mexico—accept the revolution of Madero to Cárdenas by supporting the present Government, or raise the barricades against the revolution of Franco and Almazán. The hour draws close. The election comes on July 7, unless Cárdenas moves before that date. If it is held, Camacho must win, and action from the north, where large caches of arms have been stored at some of the great Chihuahua haciendas, is considered inevitable. At least, this is the view of the Almazanistas themselves. Mexico has the direct ballot for president, but the Almazanistas say that twenty-four of the twenty-eight state governors, who control the election machinery, are linked in a conspiracy to "count out" Almazán. Thus, the excuse for violence becomes another parallel with Spain.

But the most ironic parallel is the secret support for Almazán by the oil companies, banks and some churchmen. Apparently, not all of them have yet learned that this support, such as the same elements rendered to Franco in Spain, supported the fifth column. Because of the intransigeance of most of the oil companies, the Cárdenas Government was forced to conclude oil-barter agreements with Italy and Japan. Thus the oil companies have helped to fuel the armies and fleets which were created to destroy them. It has been a brilliant example of a system sowing the seeds of its own destruction.

One oil company only has now demonstrated an understanding of this danger. Largely because of the realistic statesmanship of Patrick J. Hurley, the former Secretary of War, who conducted the negotiations, the Sinclair Company reached an agreement in May with the Cárdenas Government to accept payment on an oil-barter basis for the expropriated Sinclair properties. Announcing this agreement, Harry F. Sinclair shocked the business world by paying a high tribute to the fairness of the Government which had previously received only condemnation from American business interests. By this action, Sinclair did more to safeguard the exposed flank than six divisions could.

By breaking the oil blockade and leading the way to an equitable settlement for all, Sinclair has vastly strengthened the internal position of a Mexican Government which already is resisting encroachment by the Axis Powers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yet the nation has huge stocks on hand of essential war materials

Italy's Unstable Economic Outlook

From the *Economist*, London Financial Weekly

IS Italy ready for this war? Her basic weaknesses, her lack of raw materials, such as oil, coal, iron ore, rubber and tin, and her dependence on imports from beyond Gibraltar and Suez, have been demonstrated. They cannot be removed by policies of a purely domestic order, but only by changes abroad; yet they may have turned Mussolini to the risks of war rather than peace and a stabilization of Italy's present military-economic inferiority. A significant guide to Italy's war readiness is an analysis of her stocks of imported materials.

At the outbreak of war, the Italian Government imposed an almost complete black-out of statistical information. But in foreign trade there are two nations concerned, the exporter and the importer; and the trend of nearly a third of Italy's foreign trade can be followed in the publications of clients and customers; and earlier this year it was announced that production in 1939 was 14 per cent higher than in the previous year.

Last year's great expansion of Italy's war industries has not stopped. The recently published reports of the three great concerns, Breda, Fiat and Montecatini, emphasize this. Breda is building yet another armaments factory near Rome in Italy's new industrial zone, lying roughly between Naples and Florence. Fiat is building a new factory near Florence, which can replace their dangerously situated Turin establishment in stress of war; and, although their production of motor cars has fallen off, armament and aeroplane production have more than offset the decline. Montecatini reports advances in almost every branch of mineral and chemical production, in which this company plays a predominant role. Plans are being put into execution for the hydrogenation of lignite and for new oil refineries; and under the latest plan steel production is to be raised to 4,000,000 tons, compared with just over 2,225,000 tons in 1938.

As in Germany, autarchy does not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mean any reduction in Italy's imports of raw materials or in her need for foreign exchange to buy them. This high level of activity compels an increase in both domestic and imported supplies. Purchases from the Balkans had greatly expanded in recent months far in excess of sales. Switzerland and the Balkans had become more dependent on Italy's transit facilities and shipping. Italy has had clearing agreements with nearly all European countries, and the amounts of free exchange that could be gained from European trade was limited. The only extra-European countries with which Italy had clearing agreements were Japan and Manchukuo. But Italy's trade deficit with extra-European countries had almost certainly increased since September, either as a result of bigger imports, as from the United States and the Dutch East Indies, or as a result of smaller exports, as to Egypt, Malaya and India. So far as free exchange is concerned, Italy's trade position had not improved. Even the increased balances from transit traffic and shipping could not appreciably alter this fact; and against these favorable items on invisible account must be set the end of the tourist industry. Now the Allied blockade plus America's neutrality law have combined to kill Italy's imports and further stifle her economic life.

The fact is that Italy, in the throes of intense industrial activity and in need of more and more overseas materials, was suffering from an acute shortage of free exchange, and particularly of dollars. So acute had this shortage become that Italy was compelled to draw on her published gold reserves. At the end of 1937 these amounted to 3,996,000,000 lire. During 1938, when the year's trade deficit was 2,960,000,000 lire, the gold reserve was depleted to the extent of 322,000,000. Last year, when the trade deficit had been reduced to 1,500,000,000 lire, this was covered by a sale of gold amounting to 974,000,000 lire, of which nearly a third was sent to the United States in the last three months of the year. Moreover, this export of gold to the United States was still continuing, as Italian imports from the United States reached new high levels before June 10.

THE increased Italian purchases from the United States had consisted largely of cotton. Shipments of cotton to Italy from her three principal suppliers, the United States, India and Egypt, amounted to 68,655 tons in the first four months of the war, compared with 57,745 tons in the same period of 1938, and 19,745 tons in January 1940, compared with only 7,930 tons in January 1939. The value of petroleum products imported from the United States had been little more than it was before the war; imports of crude petroleum had, in fact, fallen off; but imports of lubricating oil, destined perhaps in part for Germany, had greatly increased. In February of this year total imports from the United States amounted to more than $9,500,000, leaving a trade deficit of $7,000,000, of which $5,000,000 was covered by gold export.

Total Italian imports of petroleum and petroleum products amounted, according to Italian returns, to 2,648,000 tons in 1938 and 1,133,000 tons in the first seven months of 1939. In the remaining months of last year the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States sent Italy 350,000 tons, Rumania 260,000 and Mexico, according to a private estimate, some 450,000 tons. Thus, for these three countries alone, the five months' total was 1,060,000 tons which, added to the Italian figures for the first seven months of the year, gives a figure of 2,780,000 tons for the whole of 1939, and total imports from all countries must necessarily have been much greater. Moreover, the Italian figure for 1938 is an under-estimate, as it is believed to exclude petroleum used by the navy or air force, and therefore actual imports in 1938 may well have reached 3,000,000 tons; in 1939 they probably exceeded 3,000,000. In view of rationing and sharp increases in the price of petroleum products, Italy must have built up formidable reserves.

The coal position, crucial to Italy, is particularly hard to gauge. In 1938, 8,900,000 tons came from Germany, Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia, over 6,000,000 by sea. The Italians claim to have imported at the rate of 12,000,000 tons a year, but even 12,000,000 tons, about the average of annual imports in recent years, is hardly adequate to meet the requirements of industry at the present war level of activity; and it is hard to believe that, with the Allied blockade of German exports, this rate can be kept up or approximated (in 1938, 10,000,000 out of 12,500,000 tons came by sea). The domestic output of coal was just over 3,000,000 tons last year and is scheduled to reach 5,250,000 tons this year. Every effort is being made to encourage the consumption of the inferior domestic product, but technical considerations often make this impossible. Probably an irreducible minimum of 7,500,000 tons of foreign coal is required for electric power stations, for gas works and for certain industries that could only use domestic coal with the greatest difficulty. Stringent rationing of coal was introduced even before Italy entered the war.

IMPORTS of tin and rubber dropped off in the general uncertainty just after the outbreak of war, but revived later. Deliveries of rubber from the Dutch East Indies during the first four months of the war were higher than in the previous year, but not sufficiently high to compensate for the reduction of shipments from Malaya. But, already in December, Malayan shipments were reviving, shipments from the Dutch East Indies were three and a half times what they were a year ago. Shipments of tin from the Dutch East Indies in the first six months of the war were 1,235 metric tons, compared with only 143 in the corresponding period of the previous year. These supplies, of course, will be stopped now.

Unnecessary consumption and imports have been cut down. The import of essential materials from overseas had been proceeding at a great pace and in apparent disregard of the willingness of the overseas countries to take Italian goods in exchange. Gold from the reserves of the Bank of Italy was being exported without compunction. Considerable stocks have been accumulated. It is not easy to avoid the conclusion that Italy has been hurrying to import all she can against the closing of the entrances to the Mediterranean by the British when Mussolini "thrust the dagger into his neighbor's back."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Swiss newspaper's view is that we have relinquished isolationism

America Moves Towards War

Translated from the *National-Zeitung*, Basle Liberal German-Language Daily

WILL America intervene soon—and how soon? The tremendous indignation which the attack on Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg has aroused in the entire population of the United States—in all political groups and in the highest government circles—has accelerated the trend toward intervention. From the beginning of the war, Germany has had few defenders in the United States except the underground Nazi-propaganda organizations. The Eastern States have been outspokenly for the Allies since last Fall; the Middle West, where German influence was once strongest, is now with France and England because they are fighting to maintain the ideal of democracy. For the American, democracy is a life principle. The United States entered the first World War "to make the world safe for democracy." The years following 1919 may have disillusioned her. She may have felt that Europe squandered the gains which were made for that principle, but that has not changed her faith in democracy itself. The representatives of the Middle-Western States simply adopted the attitude that America should never again mix in European affairs.

But these "isolationists," as they are called in America, lost ground rapidly after the attack on Denmark and Norway, and the latest European events have staggered the United States. The voices from Washington today are in a tenor unheard of before. The *United States Weekly*, one of the most widely read Washington political journals, with an influential circulation, sharply attacks the opinion prevalent only a few months ago among certain social groups and certain members of Congress, that the European war "is not our business." No American has the right to believe that the American democratic ideal is so strong that it would be unaffected if all the rest of the world falls victim to dictatorship. The United States of America does not exist in a vacuum.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How it is conceivable that the theory of the rule of brutal force—now transformed into gruesome practice—should have no influence on America? Oceans do not protect us from such a development. It concerns the United States very much and it *is* our business if small nations are attacked and trampled underfoot overnight and if every international law is disregarded. If the Allies are defeated, if in the Far East the Dutch colonies fall into Japanese hands, then the United States will also be shaken to its foundations. Today's war is a world revolution against the idea of freedom, against an ideal without which the United States would be unthinkable. The United States has no right to remain on the sidelines in this titanic fight. So talks Washington now.

At the same time, leading politicians in the Middle West are saying that a German victory would bring German armed forces into direct proximity to the Canal Zone. The English and French Antilles would be occupied by Germany. The United States must forestall Berlin if it wishes to continue to control the Canal Zone, which is so important to the country's existence. So a victory of the German armies in Europe would mean a threat not only to America's political ideals but would eventually, inevitably, lead to war between the two countries. Realization of all this forces the United States to reconcile itself to the idea of giving the Allies all possible help now. And complete preparedness on all lines of defence is the first necessity.

THOSE prophets who, up to now, were optimistically inclined—and who considered the apprehensions of others fantastic—begin to see their error. "Those who attempt to calculate coming events on the basis of rational consideration have always prophesied wrongly. These rational advisers considered Hitler's every stroke improbable and nevertheless every one of those strokes took place." Thus wrote the New York *Herald-Tribune*. It recalled how the three dictatorships—Germany, Italy and Russia—waged this war, apparently without a common plan but all aspiring to the same aim: the destruction of the British and French world empires. Each one leaves the other a free hand at the beginning. The Allies defend themselves here, defend themselves there. They are drawn into a struggle with each enemy separately until at the end all three will get together for the last big blow, when they are convinced that the Allies have been sufficiently weakened by the scattered wars.

Such considerations have pushed all other political preoccupations into the background in America. Whenever there are short rest periods in Europe, the problems of the Presidential election move into the foreground again. But the moment new blows, new surprises, new acts of violence occur abroad, political thought is again focussed there. This consciousness that a European war is no longer a distant matter has grown to prodigious dimensions. The United States realizes that it cannot any more withdraw to its own continent and express its opinion and judgment of the struggle as a mere observer; its own vital interests are threatened and its future depends as much on the result as does that of the Allies. Certain world capitals may have calculated

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that an election year would split the United States into various factions and weaken it by a general insecurity, so that it could take no decisive action. The fact that America's vital interests are spread over the globe, that it is an inseparable part of the rest of the world, whose lot it must share whether it wants to or not, is now shaping American policy. It has become more important than party quarrels.

Thus, everything points to the likelihood that Roosevelt was in accord with the wishes of an immense majority of the people, when he took such a clear and definite attitude toward the European war, one which was equivalent to open support of the cause of democracy.

Canine Evacuees

When war broke out the Animal Defences Society undertook the responsibility of finding homes in the country for the dogs and cats of the poor. Throughout the day and night animals poured into the receiving houses of the Society. Next day they started their journey to the country: the Duchess of Hamilton had put the entire resources of her country house at the disposal of the pets of London's poor. Originally it was intended that the Duchess should act as a kind of clearing station, from where the dogs would be found other individual homes, and as a result of wireless appeal hundreds were found happy homes all over the country. But the Duchess has volunteered to keep sixty or seventy of these evacuees, herself. You won't find a healthier or happier throng of animals anywhere. Most of the dogs live in kennels in the grounds, an exercise field has been wired in and along the whole of one side runs a divided kennel hut—each has its individual covered run in front. The cats all live together in another part of the grounds where a small paddock about the size of a tennis court has been wired with a high fence, where they can exercise.

Letters have poured into the Society in gratitude for what has been done for these pets. Some are beautifully typed—some almost illegibly scrawled on odd bits of paper, but they all express the same depth of appreciation for the really wonderful work which is being done—for the dogs and cats of the poor of London.

—*Listener*, London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A noted expert urges his embattled nation to weigh sentiment overseas

French Hopes in Pan-America

By JULES SAUERWEIN

Translated from *Paris-Soir,* French Liberal Daily

NECESSARILY, the eyes of Frenchmen today are riveted again on that part of our country where the German invader and the French armies are at grips. But men of broad vision, and that should include diplomats, must not overlook events or portents in any part of the world, be it the Dutch East Indies, where perhaps tomorrow the United States and Japan will be at war, or the maritime province of Siberia where Japan, exhausted by the war in China, may have to settle accounts with the Soviet Union or—of the greatest importance — the Spanish-speaking world which, aside from the Peninsula itself, numbers nineteen republics united to one another by ties of a common tradition and language.

Beyond the locale of the immediate and brutal tragedy in France, various factors are at play and will affect the ultimate outcome of this war which must inevitably become a world conflict. One should not forget that only a few weeks ago, speaking before a Pan-American assembly of scientists in Washington, President Roosevelt gave utterance to a hope that all the American republics could reach a common policy with respect to the war in Europe.

If in the United States the election atmosphere militates against arriving at an unequivocal policy vis-à-vis the war on our soil, that situation does not prevail elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere. Particularly in the Argentine and in Uruguay are expressions of denunciation of Nazi Germany growing stronger. In Buenos Aires, for example, residents are no longer content merely with academic protests and oratorical condemnation of the authors of this iniquitous war. Cantilo, the Argentine minister of foreign affairs, went a great deal further. Recently he demanded flatly that the Americas should relinquish their position of "strict neutrality" and adopt a policy of "non-belligerency." [Since M. Sauerwein wrote this article, such newspapers in this country

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the *New York Times,* the normally isolationist New York *Herald Tribune,* and other newspapers east of the Mississippi have made the same recommendation.—Ed.] Whatever else may be said of Italy, right up to her declaration of war she had set a useful example of what "non-belligerency" means. It consists of giving official assistance and displaying open sympathy toward one of two sides, while remaining out of the conflict so long as abstention is deemed practical and profitable. In Buenos Aires, evidently, it is believed that if all the peoples of the Americas declared a boycott of Germany and otherwise rendered all possible aid to the Allies, short of military intervention, such joint action might exert a decisive influence on the outcome of the war.

In this conviction, the people of Buenos Aires are utterly right. It is true that a "moral boycott" is meaningless, since Nazi Germany is totally indifferent to the moral judgment of other nations. But from direst necessity she would be hypersensitive to the refusal of a whole continent, enormously rich in natural resources, to sell her any goods, and to the determination of the peoples of that continent to wage economic war upon her.

There are a number of other Latin-American states which may be said to share the ideas of the Argentine Foreign Minister and of the Chamber of Deputies of that country. For example, Venezuela, which has freed herself from the dictatorship of Vincente Gómez, aspires today to an entente with liberal nations. The Santos Government in Colombia, to cite another, supports the Allied cause without any ifs or buts. Albert Guani, the present foreign minister of Uruguay, is a tried friend of France, and missed no occasion to make his sympathies known during his long residence at Geneva. Incidentally, the attitude of the Uruguayan Government was exemplary during the stay of the *Graf Spee* at Montevideo. To be counted in the opposite camp, however, is Peru, where the Italians exert great influence.

Germany wields considerable influence in Chile, due in part to the presence in that country of a large number of military and civilian technicians. In Brazil, the one large South American nation which is not of Spanish origin, there are hundreds of thousands of Germans (concentrated in the state of Santa-Catalina), the majority of them Nazis, and they are strongly entrenched; an additional adverse factor is that the nation is ruled by Getulio Vargas, a dictator. These Germans in Brazil might, with some help from Germany, declare their autonomy and thus become a subsidiary of the Reich. But speaking generally, the sentiments of the Brazilians are friendly to the Allies.

WE MUST be mindful that the influence of Spain upon all of Latin America, Brazil excepted, is considerable. But opinions emanating from Madrid and designed for Latin-American digestion are often vague and more frequently contradictory. Almost everywhere the consensus is that Franco cannot possibly afford to intervene actively in the conflict, primarily because the resources and the energies of the country have been exhausted by the civil war. It should be remembered, moreover, that even today more than 400,000 Loyalist troops are in prison or concentration

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

camps. Within the Madrid Government itself, opinion is divided and conflicting currents of opinion, with respect to intervention, are plainly seen. One bloc of leaders is disposed to permit Italy to use the Balearic Islands as bases against the Allies, provided the Government raises some ineffective protest for the sake of the historical record; but others maintain that those islands should be placed in a state of defence, and hold that no foot of Spanish soil should be conceded to any foreign intruder. Incidentally, this last bloc is not the least powerful within the Government.

In any event, it is obvious that we cannot pay too much attention to that powerful bloc of material and moral forces in Latin America that one day may co-operate with the United States.

AMERICAN PORTRAIT: 1877

By AUGUST DERLETH

I am Crazy Horse. Do not touch me!

All of lost America in his eyes, all the wild land in
his burning eyes, the deep forests and the wind-
swept plains,
all the remembering: buffalos thundering along the
prairies, antelope in the wooded hills, and the fair
earth flowering after rains
in April, here in his eyes all of lost wild America tak-
ing a last breath
but not afraid of passing. Back of his proud and
fearless eyes—grief and the face of death.

(This is the way they went: one and one and one
by hundreds down the way of the setting sun:
after Narragansetts, Seminoles, Ojibwas, the Minne-
conjous, Arapahoes, Comanches, all the Sioux,
all the last of the Dakotas pushed down the night's
retreating blue,
like purple clouds spread fanwise from the afterglow
into the darkening sky and lost.)

His the slow
backward stepping, the unashamed defeat and the
heart's cone of bitterness; his the proud, fearless
turning upon the centuries;
his the turning alone. . . .

I am Crazy Horse. Do not touch me!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Union now proposed for Palestine, Transjordania and Lebanon

An Arab-Jewish Federated State

By JOSEPH WECHLER EATON

THE WAR in Europe has brought peace to Palestine. It has produced a functional unity of Arabs, Jews and British which could not have been brought about by any of the proposed solutions of the Palestine problem. The possibility that Britain may not, at the eventual peace settlement, be permitted to continue her mandate may be a contributing factor to this unexpected harmony.

For the first time since April 1936, when the Arab Nationalists began their latest campaign of terrorism against the Jews, it is safe again to travel on the roads of the country. Arab and Jewish youths are again seen dancing together in the cafes. *Falestin* and *Addifa'*, the two principal Arab dailies which had distinguished themselves for years by their extreme anti-Jewish policies, are printing articles on the need for Arab-Jewish co-operation. *Muqattam* and *Al Basir,* the most widely read newspapers in Egypt and other Arab countries, go as far as to suggest that the economic and scientific forces of the Jewish people could serve to revive the economies of the entire Near East. Bi-racial municipal councils are again functioning efficiently. The second volunteer Labor Corps (consisting of both Arabs and Jews) has arrived in France for service with the British forces.

All this is happening less than two years after the Palestine Round Table Conference in London, where the Arab delegation had refused to meet the Jewish representatives officially.

Few political observers would have dreamed that a war in Europe would have such a paradoxical effect in Palestine. On the surface this development is incomprehensible. But as much as the Arabs resent the power of Britain and France, they prefer the gentle hand of British and French "influence" to the ruthless domination practiced by Germany and Italy. Iraq and Egypt therefore have ceased support of Arab terrorists in Palestine. In addition, the Arab people in the Holy

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Land are tired of strife. For many months Arab terrorists had assassinated more Arabs who opposed them than they had killed Jews and Englishmen. The British also have become more vigilant in their suppression of riots. At the beginning of the European war they occupied the German Templar villages, Waldheim and Sarona, where Nazis harbored terrorists and supplied them with munitions.

Can the state of peace in Palestine last, or it is merely an armistice for the duration of the war? At present it looks more like an armistice, because the respective aims of Arabs and Jews are still largely incompatible.

The Arabs insist that Jewish immigration be stopped completely and that an Arab national government be permitted in Palestine as soon as the war is ended. They are willing to grant those Jews already in the country full economic, cultural and religious autonomy and insist that this is already more than they are really entitled to have, since the Jews came to Palestine against Arab wishes.

The Jews insist that their claim to Palestine as their home is as valid as that of the Palestinian Arabs, pointing to the fact that the nations of the world entrusted England with the mandate over Palestine with the specific request to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish National Home there. They are adamant in their demand for politically unrestricted immigration which would ultimately give them a numerical majority. They are willing to give the Arabs an equal voice in the government regardless of their numerical proportion. But they cannot make any additional concessions without losing more than they would gain. Surrounded by Arab countries, they can feel secure in Palestine only if they are strong numerically, economically and strategically. They would gain nothing in return for giving up voluntarily their claims for promises from the Arabs for "just treatment." These promises would be worthless if the numerical and military weakness of the Jews were to remain a constant temptation for the Arabs to break these pledges.

Although the two peoples have conflicting aims, they have also many common interests. Both are anxious to develop Palestine. They are both eager to wrest more autonomy from the mandatory Government. In the event of an Allied defeat, Arabs and Jews would be confronted by a common enemy—Italy. Given such political and economic circumstances in which the Arabs could clearly see the value of Jewish co-operation, the following plan might easily unite the two factions and guarantee the security of both. The plan is presented here only in rough outlines since the details could easily be agreed upon once its principles and the spirit which prompts it are accepted by both Arabs and Jews.

PALESTINE, Transjordania and Lebanon would be united in one federal state of Abrahamia. This state would have an area of nearly 50,000 square miles. It would create a large economic unit which would permit a more normal and more efficient development of the economic resources of all three countries. It would be better able to resist the imperialist designs of other nations than any of its three components.

In Palestine there would be no restriction on Jewish immigration, so

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the Jews would ultimately become a numerical majority with a large Moslem Arab and smaller Christian Arab minority. In Transjordania the Moslem Arabs would be the dominant group, with a small Christian-Arab minority. A limited number of Jews would also be permitted to settle in the underpopulated sections of that country to aid in its economic development. In Lebanon the Christian Arabs would have a majority, with a large Moslem Arab and a small Jewish minority.

In Abrahamia there would be a balance of power between Moslems and Christians and Jews, each of which looks today with suspicion on the other. Each group would be a majority in one state and a minority in the two others. Such a balance is the best guarantee against the maltreatment of any group by each of the other.

Each state would enjoy wide autonomies to regulate its affairs with proper constitutional guarantees for the minority groups. The security of these minority groups would not depend on these guarantees alone. The fact that every group is a controlling element in one part of the Federation would make these constitutional guarantees more reliable.

—*De Telegraaf*, Amsterdam

The Federal Government would have jurisdiction over such activities as foreign and interstate trade, interstate communication and transportation, common defence, as well as any additional functions that the three states might agree to delegate to it.

The Federal Government would be controlled by a federal constitution similar to that of the United States or Canada. Its legislature would consist of a senate and a house of representatives. The senate would contain an equal number of Jews, Moslem Arabs and Christian Arabs. The house of representatives would be elected by proportional representation in the Federation as a whole, along political and class lines, with the hope that similar interest groups among Jews, Moslems and Christians would form one party. The three groups would therefore not be equally represented in the house; it would be representative of the wishes of the people as a whole. But in the senate the minority groups could protect their interests.

The executive branch of the Government might either be headed by a President as in the United States, or by a constitutional Arab monarch, directed by a cabinet, as in England. (If after the war the British Empire should transform itself into a true commonwealth of nations, each of which has a dominion status, it is likely that the Federation of Abrahamia would prefer to become a do-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minion, with the English king as the nominal sovereign.)

The judicial branch would be headed by a supreme court, consisting of three Moslems, three Christians and three Jews. The judges would be appointed by the executive, with the approval of three-fourths of the senate, to make certain that only tolerant and broad-minded people would be appointed to this agency, whose task will be to prevent violation of the constitution.

The balance of political power in Abrahamia would be a more effective guarantee for the correct treatment of minorities than any treaty or promise could be, even though numerically the three groups are not of equal strength. At present the three countries combined have a total population of about 2,600,000 people, of which roughly 1,500,000 are Moslem Arabs, 600,000 are Jews and 500,000 are non-Moslem Arabs, the great majority of whom are Christians. The Jewish population would increase greatly because of the unlimited immigration into Palestine and the absorption of a few Jews in Transjordania.

Despite the fact that the Jews might in the future become numerically the dominant element in Palestine, this would not endanger the security of the Arabs. The constitution would guarantee their rights, and the existence of Jewish minorities in Transjordania and Lebanon would also discourage any desire on the part of some Jews to mistreat anyone. It should also not be forgotten that Abrahamia is hoped to be merely the beginning of a larger Arab Federation, which might include Syria, Iraq and other countries. In that case, even though Palestine might contain several million Jews, they would still be outnumbered by Arabs.

FROM the point of view of world peace this plan would have many advantages. Three small countries, none of which is an efficient economic unit by itself, would disappear from the map. In their stead would appear one large country, in which two racially related groups, adhering to three great religions, would strive to become one political unit, like Switzerland. Imperialist powers could no longer interfere in Palestine or Lebanon, under the pretense of "protecting minorities" or "guaranteeing the safety of the Holy Places."

The plan of Abrahamia would probably be welcome in Lebanon. Its Christian majority refused to let the region become a part of Syria for fear that the Moslem Arabs would mistreat them. At present they prefer limited local autonomy under French protection to ultimate independence as a part of Syria. This plan would enable them to enjoy the advantages of full sovereignty without the danger of Moslem domination. In addition, there would be important economic benefits.

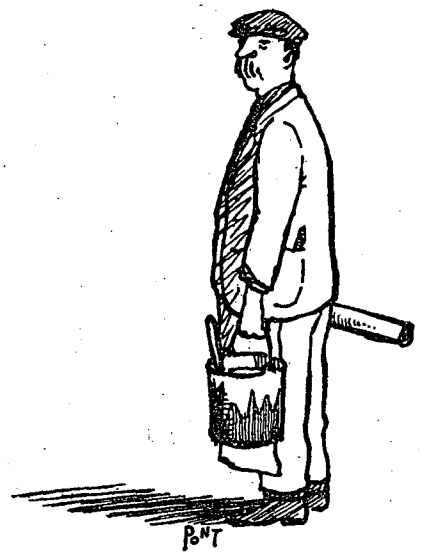
Transjordania is a country which is eleven times as large as Lebanon and has only half its population. It has much untilled fertile land. The country lacks even the rudiments of medical, education, transportation and communication facilities. Its small annual budget would not be balanced were it not for a sizeable subsidy paid to the Government of Transjordania by the mandatory authorities in Palestine. The inhabitants have always been eager to secure some of the economic advantages which Jewish col-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

onization brought to Palestine. As late as 1936, Zionists and the Emir Abdallah of Transjordania had conversations on the possible admission of a limited number of Jews to help to develop the untapped resources of the country.

Palestine would no longer be an arsenal of dynamite, ready to explode at the slightest provocation. It could become self-governing and would no longer be the pawn of imperialist powers. Its remarkable economic development could continue without constant disturbances. The Holy Land would be in a Federation composed of the three religions which revere it.

The dream of a Pan-Arab Union would come one step closer to reality. Palestine and Lebanon, which cover a large part of the Mediterranean coast of Arabia, would not remain permanently under foreign control. In Abrahamia, neither Jews nor Christians need rely on the presence of a foreign power for their security. The Arab Nationalists would gain a powerful ally in the Jewish people, an alliance which might be strengthened by putting a provision in the constitution that the total number of Jews in the Federation should never be greater than the total number of Arabs. Thus after about two million Jews have immigrated to Palestine, the continuation of the immigration would depend on the enlargement of Abrahamia to include Syria, Iraq and other Arab countries.



"Suppose we hear a little less about him being only a paperhanger."

—*Punch*, London

Many millions of Jews could find a home in Palestine and to a small extent in Lebanon and Transjordania. As allies of the Arabs they would be more secure, both economically and strategically, than as a vassal of British imperialism.

In the course of a few decades a great proportion of the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe could come to Abrahamia. Both the Jews and Europe would be freed from the "disease" of the Jewish problem, which causes the Jews endless misery and which has been made into a disturbing factor in the national life of many European countries. The Jewish problem would virtually be solved. After two thousand years the Jews would again inhabit Palestine. They would take their proper place among the nations, able to recreate their former culture. Of course, many Jews would remain in the countries in which they have found secure homes, but they would have, like most nationalities, the choice of living either in their own homeland or in some other country.

There are many difficulties in the way of a realization of the state of Abrahamia. Certainly to bring Jews and Arabs together would be a herculean task. The numerous advantages which would accrue to both might be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strong enough, however, eventually to overcome all barriers.

Those who doubt the possibility of Arab-Jewish co-operation, and they have much justification for their scepticism, should remember that peace and security in Palestine are impossible unless Arabs and Jews collaborate. If Arab-Jewish conflict in the Holy Land continues, the Arabs might ultimately succeed in interfering with Jewish efforts to build a national home there. They might even stop them completely, although the Jews will do everything in their power to continue the work, which over a period of more than four years they have demonstrated they are capable of continuing in the face of great odds. Even a complete stoppage of Jewish immigration would be only a negative victory and of little value to the Arabs. Arab-Jewish enmity would enable the English or the Italians to maintain a permanent hold over the country and make the realization of the dream of Pan-Arabia less likely.

THE plan of Abrahamia should not only be looked at in terms of its advantages, but the Arabs and Jews should also consider its alternatives, such as partition, cantonization, or permanent foreign control. In that case the benefits of this scheme become even more evident.

It offers the best chance for peace in the Near East because it permits a positive expression for the fundamental national strivings of both Arabs and Jews. Both have little to sacrifice and much to gain. Abrahamia is practical as it does not attempt to do too much at one time. Yet it is a step toward an ultimate unification of all Arab countries.

While the Federation of Abrahamia would not eliminate immediately the conflicting political, economic and cultural interests of Moslem Arabs, Jews and Christian Arabs, it could be the beginning of a "Switzerland development," where three culturally distinct groups have acquired a common sense of nationality. Through cultural symbiosis they might recreate the flourishing civilization they produced in Moorish Spain.

There is much hope, in view of the present rapprochement of Arabs and Jews, that the war will force both sides to analyze critically their fundamental aims and needs. Such an analysis would make them amenable to a plan such as Abrahamia. While the time is not yet ripe for an Arab-Jewish alliance, it must be recognized clearly that the Arab-Jewish problem can be solved. The two peoples could live together in peace by fully achieving their fundamental national aims.

BEARING VIATICUM

By ALFRED BARRETT, S. J.

My Yoke is sweet and Oh! my Burden light.
As I walk forth tonight,
He on Whose breast I may not yet recline
Leans on mine!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Persons and Personages

GILT-EDGED CANDIDATE

By MALCOLM HOBBS

FOR THE first time in recent Mexican history there is an independent candidate for the presidency who is pronouncedly above the status of straw-man. Around the fat bulk of Juán Andreu Almazán, military commander of Nuevo León, senior general of the army, all oppositionist forces have united. The verbose blasts from the strange bedfellows in this group have ranged from left to right, but this is no paradox at all to the Mexican mind attuned as it is to contradictions. A more significant indication as to just where Almazán stands in respect to center is the prosperous clinking of pesos into his coffers. One of many similar contributions was that of the largest Monterrey brewery which has been plagued with labor trouble: 250,000 pesos ($62,000). These gratuities have been augmented by the sale of non-redeemable "patriotism bonds" to the professional classes, small business men and clergy. The moneyed group's increasing willingness to consider the General as a gilt-edged security predicates that the interests who backed the wrong man in Cedillo are either making their last stand or are pretty confident of the miracle-man attributes of their choice, and it will take a miracle to lick the dominant R. P. M. *(Partido de la Revolución Mexicana)* in the balloting. The dynamic Almazán says: "I am a mountain man. I do not like it where things are flat." But he is being forceful enough about wanting to spend the next six years in the central mesa.

Juán Andreu comes of a wealthy landed family. In 1910 he was studying medicine but left school to follow Madero's heels. This landed him, at the age of twenty-two, in charge of the garrison at Morelos where he became associated with Huerta after the downfall of the near-sighted Madero. He fought against Zapata's agrarians and thrived in the cross-currented years that followed, as many another nest-feathering General. Conservative estimates put his present fortune at thirty million pesos ($7,500,000). However, until the present campaign he kept his ambitions well concealed, a key to longevity in Mexican public life. This fact has enabled him to make the following his most accented statement: "Since Diaz, I have never revolted against established government." That is patient opportunism in Mexico.

Almazán's mansion on the outskirts of Monterrey is in lavish good taste with picturesque landscaping and rare collections of birds and animals. He

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has extensive real estate interests in the area and also holds a healthy chunk of the Pacific resort of Acapulco—a nice nest egg for his old age should he achieve it. The construction company which he controls was called in on the Pan-American highway job when engineers were stalled by 130 miles of jungle and mountains. The General took charge and completed one of the greatest engineering feats of all time, even if the human element was battered a bit in the attempt. The first path was cut through by laborers roped to trees, but you can't detract from Almazán's ableness and intelligence on that score. He likes to show visitors the army post in Monterrey, a complete town in itself, constructed from plumbing to brick kiln by soldiers.

Despite his accumulated fortune, he has the reputation of being a man of the masses in the north of the Republic, even by some of the workers and peasants themselves. Words speak louder than actions in some sections.

So you have a man of color, action and popular appeal on an independent ticket; and a man with brains. Yet no Mexican with brains has ever expected to win on an independent ticket at the polls. Does Almazán?

IT IS evident that he has good reason to believe he will make a much more notable showing than ordinary because of Cárdenas' integrity in keeping hands off the election. This plus the unanimity of the reaction supporting him. Therefore, with the mandate of a strong vote coupled with the widening of the split in the *Partido de la Revolución Mexicana* he may use the excuse of "law and order" to launch a *putsch* to take over the Government. Witness his statement of April: "If the Government attempts to thwart the will of the people by manipulating the votes at the election of July, I shall know what course to follow." It is certain, however, that this will not take place unless the indications are that it would be a relatively short and painless affair. Almazán has too far-flung financial interests to gamble on disruption of peaceful development, no matter how socialized, for any length of time. And this despite his important adviser, Antonio Diaz Soto y Gama, ex-Zapatista, whose theory is that to secure social justice "heads must roll."

Almazán has waxed quite bitter about how the important votes of July 7 are to be counted. In fact the General is planning to conduct an election of his own in which his voters would cast a second ballot in his private box enabling him to check on the National count. Of course this would furnish an excellent excuse for any post-election action.

A few years back Almazán made a trip to Germany, ostensibly because of illness, but on viewing his present political alignment it is to be wondered if he didn't receive more than glandular therapy from the realm of the Corporate Corporal. At a meeting of his advisers last New Year's Day on the Paseo de la Reforma, Mexico City, a plan was devised to institute terrorism in small cities and towns to heat up prejudices, and to provoke strikes in order to whip up public alarm. This program has gone forward on schedule. When responsible unions refused to be trapped into strikes, fake ones were staged by men

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under Luis Morones, ace labor tsar of Calles' régime. (Morones, the boss of the CROM—*Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana*—was formerly powerful under Calles and is now an opponent of Cárdenas.) The Gold Shirts, roustabout fascist group, became active again with plenty of money for propaganda. Disgruntled elements of the officer groups in the army are backing Almazán. He is gaining support also from the *cristeros,* armed reactionary peasants, rallied by priests with the slogan, *"Viva Cristo Rey"* ("Long Live Christ the King") who oppose the anti-clerical laws. The *cristeros,* emerging from the catacombs, are being attracted by the General's attacks on the socialized educational program of Cárdenas. All of which is reminiscent of Spain after the election of the Popular Front.

To round out an "unholy alliance" came the followers of Calles, who was dubbed "the Jew of the Revolution" by Almazán's native fascist and anti-Semitic writers in 1929. The leader of this group is Plutarco Elías Calles, Jr.

IN HIS campaign speeches Almazán has drawn large crowds such as an audience of 200,000 in Mexico City. He has declared himself "profoundly nationalistic" but fully aware of the necessity for assistance from the United States to become a strong nation. His criticism of the land-divisioning program is that it has only transferred landlords. He rants about the public debt and the dropping peso, but his sole constructive plan depends on private initiative and protection of capital's rights as well as labor's. Although he defends the expropriation of the oil properties, while criticizing the method, he decries Cárdenas' general policy toward the United States as bad neighborliness and bad business.

Yet his only acquaintance across the border is Vice President Garner. The General's publicity man for the United States is the Hearst representative in Mexico.

With his large, good-looking head thrown back, Almazán shouts, "People of Mexico, you overthrew your oppressors in 1910, but you are being enslaved anew today by thousands of parasites and vultures who are reducing you to a deeper and more abject misery." He would like to take the right people out of this misery, if the price is reasonable, for he would far rather be a live millionaire than a dead fascist.

NEW WORD FOR TRAITOR

By K. S.

Adapted from the *Weltwoche,* Zurich Independent Weekly

THE NAME of Quisling will go down in history not because he was, for a few short days, following the betrayal of his country, Norway's nominal ruler by the grace of Hitler, nor because he was the spearhead of the fifth column which helped to pave the way for the invaders, but because his name has entered the languages of the world as a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

generic term for a new type of traitors who hope to win at least nominal power by surrendering their countries to foreign aggressors. Such men as Hacha, president of Nazi-controlled Bohemia-Moravia; Seyss-Inquart, who prepared for Austria's annexation by Germany; Mussert of Holland and Degrelle of Belgium, who played similar roles; as well as Mosley, the black-shirt leader of England, and Abetz of France—whose efforts were nipped in time—are now often referred to as the Quislings of their countries.

When, a few months ago, Rauschning's book, *Hitler Told Me,* was prohibited in Switzerland, even those who banned it hardly suspected how soon his prophecies would become facts. Rauschning heard from the mouth of the Führer himself that in the forthcoming war he would not be satisfied with the use of arms alone. No, his system was the calculated use of deceit, to gain followers by bribery and threats, to confuse public opinion, to open the road to the German advance by weakening resistance.

Anyone who knows human nature must have told himself that, unfortunately, such calculations would have great possibilities of success, at least to a large degree. In every country—even the best and healthiest nations—there are isolated scoundrels and fools, criminals and pathologically ambitious men who, to obtain power, would be willing to make compacts with the devil himself.

Such a man is Vidkun Quisling. What makes the case of Quisling particularly detestable is that he was not a nonentity like Kuusinen. He is listed in the *European Who's Who* as "Norwegian Officer and Diplomat." Born in 1887, he completed his military training and education in 1911 and began a steady ascent. From 1916 to 1917 and 1919 to 1923 he was an officer of the Norwegian General Staff, serving as military attaché at Petrograd in 1918-19 and military attaché and secretary of the legation at Helsingfors from 1919 to 1921. During 1922-23 he represented Norway on the Ukraine International Russian Relief Committee. It was then that he met and married his beautiful Russian wife, the former Maria Basilievna Pasek. In 1923 and 1924 he was representative of the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Balkan States, and was secretary and delegate to the Armenian Commission of the League from 1924 to 1926. While Russo-British diplomatic relations were interrupted (1927-29), Quisling was charged with the care of British interests in Russia. Among the books he wrote are *Russia and Ourselves* and *Western and Oriental Politics.* At one time the English held him in such esteem that he was decorated with the Order of the British Empire. (Recently his name was hastily stricken from the rolls.)

Quisling's diplomatic career came to its climax when, from 1931 to 1933, he held the high and responsible post of Minister of Defence. It was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

probably this taste of eminence which turned him into a provincial Führer. It was just at that time that the Labor party was rapidly increasing in power, and Quisling saw the handwriting on the wall. The Norwegian Labor party, while it had no ties with the Russian Communists, was thoroughly Marxist and far to the left of the other labor parties of Western Europe and of the Second (Socialist) International. Its growing power doomed the hopes of an ambitious conservative soldier-diplomat. Encouraged by Hitler's recent success in Germany, Quisling, who had hitherto taken little part in politics, organized his own "Nasjonal Samling" or National Union party. Physically he was well equipped for his new role (better than his German model). Quisling is impressive-looking rather than handsome, tall and powerfully built. His most memorable feature is his eyes, which are a strange light blue and he has—as the Victorian novelists would say—a penetrating gaze.

However, at the elections in October 1933, the National Union party polled only 28,000 of the 1,240,000 votes cast, while the Labor party increased its parliamentary representation from forty-seven to sixty-nine of the 150 members of the Storting. However, the German press bragged in large headlines about the success of Nazism in Norway and Hitler marked Quisling as his man. The National Unionists never did succeed in electing even one member to the Storting and, in fact, at the 1936 elections their vote was halved following the conviction of one of the other leaders, J. B. Hjort, of being a paid German agent. At the end of 1939 the party was reported to be "in virtual dissolution."

THIS, apparently, was an illusion. Their public disasters drove the National Unionists underground, where they were more successful. It must have been particularly distressing to every Norwegian patriot to discover that several high-ranking officers were among the traitors who, in a few spots at least, facilitated the German invasion. According to many reports, several Norwegian officers in uniform even marched with the invaders. Fortunately, such cases were isolated. The majority of the army remained faithful to Norway and fought heroically for their country. Quisling had such a small following that the commander of the German occupation had to try to terrorize the Norwegians directly. In a proclamation of unprecedented brutality, he announced that any civilian responding to the mobilization call of the Norwegian Government would be shot when taken prisoner.

Quisling, at first the representative in whom Hitler placed "full confidence," soon suffered the usual fate of traitors—to be despised by their masters. The Germans have dropped him. He remains only in the vocabulary.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany cites her grounds for complaint after troops invade the Low Countries

The Nazi Case, ex Post Facto

Translated from the *Schwarze Korps*,
Berlin Weekly Organ of the Elite Guards

SEVERAL hours after German troops set foot on soil of The Netherlands and Belgium, last May 10, the German ministers to The Hague and to Brussels presented identic memoranda to the governments of those two countries. In a historic and stormy interview, Paul Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, refused to listen to a reading of the memorandum by the German Minister, but instead relieved himself of a sulphurous tirade against the Reich. At The Hague, the memorandum was accepted without comment, so far as is known today, by Dr. E. N. Van Kleffens, the Foreign Minister of The Netherlands.

The text of this memorandum, never before published in full in the United States, is of great historical and juristic importance, as it embodies the arguments underlying the Nazi justification for the invasion (without any ultimatum) of the two small nations. The memorandum, reprinted by the *Schwarze Korps* under the caustic title *Such Was Their Neutrality!* follows.

1. Since the outset of the war, Belgian and Dutch newspapers have even exceeded the British and French press in expressions of hostility against Germany. These two countries did not see fit to temper the attitude of their respective newspapers, despite the many representations made by the Government of the Reich.

Moreover, men in the public life of these nations have repeatedly and insistently asserted in recent months that the place of Belgium and The Netherlands is on the side of the Allies. Other events of a political and economic order have emphasized the pro-Ally tendency in these countries.

2. Individuals in The Netherlands, together with certain Belgian circles, in flagrant violation of the most elementary obligations of neutrality have conspired with the British Secret Intelligence to provoke a revolution within Germany. The organization established by the British Intelligence

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Service on Belgian and Dutch soil—an organization enjoying the utmost support of the authorities, including the Dutch and Belgian general staffs—had as its objective the removal of the Führer and the destruction of the Government of the Reich, with the substitution of a government which would promote the dissolution of the unity of the Reich and the creation of a powerless federated state.

3. The measures taken by the Belgian and Netherlands' governments in the military domain are still more explicit. They prove, irrefutably, the real policies of the two governments. They provide a blunt contradiction to the declarations, by those two governments, that they would not permit the use of their territories as [an Allied] passageway, or as bases for land, air and sea operations.

4. Thus, for example, Belgium has fortified only her eastern frontier against Germany, while constructing no defences on her frontiers facing France. The repeated and urgent demands of the Reich Government that unilateral measures threatening Germany be rectified have been met with promises of remedial action. In point of fact, however, nothing has been done, and all promises remain unfulfilled. On the contrary, with undiminished energy Belgium has extended her fortifications against Germany, while that country's western frontiers remain open to the enemies of the Reich.

5. An open door for invasion [of Germany] by the British air forces is The Netherlands' coast. The Government of the Reich has submitted evidence to The Hague of violation of Dutch neutrality by British planes. Since the beginning of the war, British fliers have flown over Dutch soil almost every day.

The Reich has indisputable proof of 127 British aerial violations of Dutch territory, and proof has been brought to the attention of The Netherlands' Government. In truth, the number of violations is considerably larger than stated. The fact that no effective [restrictive] measures were taken by the Government of The Netherlands proves unquestionably that British planes flew over the country with the knowledge and permission of the Dutch Government.

6. Even more obvious proof of the real Belgian and Dutch attitude has been the march of the mobilized forces of those two nations in the sole direction of the German frontier. At the beginning of the war, in September 1939, Belgium and The Netherlands had their respective armies distributed equally on their frontiers but, following the increasing collaboration among the general staffs of Belgium, The Netherlands, France and Britain, their western frontiers were stripped of effectives, and Belgian and Dutch troops were concentrated on the frontiers facing Germany.

7. This concentration of Belgian and Dutch troops on the German frontier was ordered at a time when the Reich had no troops on her frontiers facing those two countries, but when Britain and France had a powerful motorized army on the Belgian-French frontier. This should have given Belgium and The Netherlands cause to increase precautionary measures to the west, but instead they moved their forces to the east along a frontier which was entirely devoid of German troops.

It was only then that Germany de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cided upon counter-measures and sent armies to her frontiers facing Belgium and The Netherlands. The Belgian and Dutch general staffs then revealed, in their moves, that they never considered themselves as anything but the outposts of the Anglo-French army of aggression.

8. Documents now in the possession of the Reich Government prove that the military preparations of Britain and France on Belgian and Dutch soil for an attack upon Germany are already far advanced.

Thus, some considerable time ago all obstacles along the Belgian frontier adjoining France, which might have made more difficult any passage of the Anglo-French attacking force, were secretly removed. Air bases in Belgium and The Netherlands were inspected by British and French officers, and their enlargement and improvement ordered. Moreover, transport *matériel* was concentrated on its [eastern] frontiers by Belgium, while members of the Anglo-French general staff arrived in various parts of both Belgium and The Netherlands.

That fact, plus additional reports in the last few days, prove indisputably that an Anglo-French attack is imminent [German divisions had already set foot in both countries], and that this offensive will be directed against the Ruhr, by way of Belgium and The Netherlands. The picture of the Belgian and Dutch attitude, as it emerges from these irrefutable facts, is clear and has but one meaning: both these countries, despite declarations to the contrary by their governments, had placed themselves secretly on the side of Britain dating from the beginning of the war—that is to say, on the side of the powers that decided to attack the Reich and declared war upon it.

Although the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs has been repeatedly cautioned by Germany over the gravity of the situation, no improvement has been effected. Quite the contrary. Recently the Belgian Minister of Defence admitted before the Chamber of Deputies that all means of actions against Germany had been agreed upon among Belgium, France and Britain.

Nevertheless, Belgium and The Netherlands proclaim to the outer world a policy of independence and neutrality. In view of the demonstrated facts, such proclamations must be regarded as an effort to spread a smoke screen over the true intentions of these two nations.

In view of the foregoing, the Government of the Reich cannot doubt that Belgium and The Netherlands have determined not only to tolerate the impending Anglo-French attack upon Germany, but indeed to facilitate it in every possible way.

The responses made by the Belgian and The Netherlands governments that such a view does not correspond to their intentions, but that they are unable to resist, cannot be regarded as plausible or valid.

The Reich Government is not willing to sit idly by, in this struggle of the German people for their lives, a conflict forced upon them by Britain and France. They cannot permit the war to be carried to German territory over the soil of Belgium and The Netherlands.

Accordingly, The Reich Government has ordered the armies of Germany to safeguard the neutrality of Belgium and The Netherlands with all military means at their disposal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That Latin-American republic gets a taste of honest, semi-democratic rule

Freedom Wins in Venezuela

By MICHAEL SCULLY

WITH half the world engaged in war, a peaceful revolution in South America might seem as unimportant as a firecracker in a blitzkrieg. But Venezuela's revolution is unique. Not a shot has been fired in four years, but changes have been wrought that can mean more to our American hope of an economically self-sufficient, politically unified Western Hemisphere than anything that has happened south of our border in a century.

Venezuela's is probably the strangest Latin-American upheaval on record—the revolt of a ruler against the lethargic spirit of his people. It presents the picture of a dictator driving his country toward democracy. Its aim is to abolish the feudal traditions that have always poisoned progress in the Latin countries.

Behind all this is a frail, gray, gentle-mannered man who found himself a president by chance, Eleázar López Contreras. Handicapped by limited health, speaking in half-whispers, looking more like a musician or teacher than a potent political force, López has routed both the reactionaries who drained the country's wealth for centuries and the radicals who threatened it with communistic chaos. He has made Venezuela the proving-ground for an idea revolutionary to the Latin ruling class—that the people, not the vast stores of mineral wealth, are the greatest natural resources of the southern countries.

The future of trade and democracy in South America is wrapped up in the shiftless, underfed, illiterate person of the Latin peasant. When we in the United States dream of a great Latin market of 130,000,000 customers, we forget that the peasant, who scrapes a bare living from the earth and buys practically nothing, is 80 per cent of that market. When we vision a strong, co-operative union of Western democracies, we forget that a majority of Latins cannot read the elaborate constitutions that govern them, that these illiterate masses are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

highly inflammable material to be touched off by any half-clever agent of an "ism," foreign or domestic.

Unless the dark little man in the patchwork pants can be made into a productive, consuming, thinking, participating citizen, our picture of a healthy, self-sustaining Pan-America will remain largely undeveloped.

But López thinks that can be done. There's nothing wrong with the peasant, he believes, that good health, a little education and a fair economic opportunity won't cure. The poison in the Latin system, he insists, is the obsession with mineral wealth. Natural resources have been exported for the few, while the land and the people have gone to waste. He says mineral wealth must be plowed back into the country, first to reclaim the exhausted people, then to develop farms and industries. Venezuela is a land as big as our whole Middle West, with a population smaller than Chicago's. Much of the land is rich and lies high enough to be temperate in climate. Yet it supports only 3,500,000 natives. The president believes his formula can make it support 20,000,000 productive citizens.

His mineral wealth is oil which, developed by foreign companies, chiefly American, has recently made Venezuela the world's first petroleum exporter and second only to the United States as a producer. The companies now pay the Government about $40,000,000 a year in royalties and customs revenues and distribute more than $40,000,000 in wages, profit-sharing, social benefits and purchases.

LOPEZ is turning this revenue into a huge mass-welfare program as fast as it comes in. Besides a federal budget of $29.66 per capita, the highest in Latin America, the Government is spending $130,000,000 on a program of health, education and material development.

In little more than two years the number of Venezuelan schools has been doubled, the number of pupils trebled, sewers have been put into every sizable town for the first time, and the country has been dotted with hospitals. Highway mileage to open new farming areas is being doubled, and substantial progress is being made in model housing, irrigation and agricultural instruction. Movies, carried by truck and river boat, teach remote villagers the benefits of proper diet and personal hygiene. Sanitary engineers war on mosquitoes and flies.

López can point out that his program has been inspired, as well as made financially possible, by no more visionary a group than the oil companies. When they pioneered the now fabulous Lake Maracaibo fields twenty years ago, the companies learned that finding oil was the least of their problems; the real job was to find men to produce it. The natives were illiterate, malnourished and, the great majority, diseased. Malaria was universal. Tuberculosis, syphilis and tropical diseases were rampant.

Today the oil-camp families seem hardly of the same race as their relatives in native villages. Some diseases have been reduced 90 per cent, infant mortality has taken a tremendous drop. Substitution of a varied diet for the old one of plantains, beans and occasional goat meat, has added inches and pounds to men, women and, particularly, children. The mental improvement is even greater. Venezuelans hold many highly skilled jobs.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But if oil has proved the feasibility of much that López is undertaking, it has affected only two small areas on the coast and its problem has been entirely industrial. López' effort is social, economic, political and nationwide.

López had control of South America's most despotic, socially hopeless dictatorship thrust into his hands upon the death of its master, Juan Vicente Gómez, in 1936. A Venezuelan who knew Gómez well has put his character into a sentence: "He was 10 per cent patriot, 40 per cent genius, 50 per cent beast." A semi-literate Andean rancher, he set a distance record in dictatorships, ruling twenty-seven years and dying with an iron grip on the country. He brought it peace by the simple expedient of jailing, exiling or killing all who challenged his power.

Gómez owned Venezuela, and its revenues made him one of the world's richest men. He developed businesses that paid him tribute and strangled those that didn't. When he died, 20 per cent of the country's cultivated land was in his name, and its business paid tribute through his henchmen.

López, then war minister, had been the freak of the Gómez administration and a source of constant wonder to the cynical old despot. He was that rarest of Latin public phenomena, the non-political soldier. An army man thirty-six years, he had never voiced a political ambition. In a Government whose revenues often melted by half before they reached their destination, he was honest. He not only saw that his army got and used every centimo for the purpose for which it was budgeted, but he returned surplus funds. Gómez knew that the army alone could guide Venezuela's course after his death, and that López alone could control the army.

No one else knew what to expect of López. He was Gómez' designated heir, technically a dictator and able, if he wished, to take over Gómez' vast estates and become incredibly wealthy over night. Few Latins could imagine a man who would ignore such a chance. On the other hand, López was personally everything Gómez was not—monogamous, pious, temperate, well educated.

The answer came when riots broke out before López could form his Government. Anti-Gómez elements unleashed a reign of anarchy, killing Gómez' relatives and henchmen and pillaging their properties. The situation seemed to demand iron-fisted terrorism in the Gómez tradition, or surrender to mob rule. The arch-reactionaries of the old régime demanded that the mob be ridden down. The mob, led by young radicals returned from exile in Mexico, shrieked for communism and death for the aristocrats.

López confounded both the extremes by launching his one-man, middle-ground revolution. The press, he announced, was free. Labor was free to organize, and a new labor law specifying its rights and goals would be enacted. The political prisons were emptied. He invited back the thousands of Gómez' exiles, many of the country's best minds among them. Gómez' vast estate, except for several millions which the family had deposited outside the country, was seized to satisfy legitimate claims, the residue to be operated for the public welfare. The monopolies by which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gómez' henchmen had bled the country's economy were abolished.

SPEAKING like a schoolmaster, while a quick-triggered army stood ready to emphasize his words, López quickly re-established order and made it clear that the old days were over. But he also pointed out the difference between liberty and license. Far from being a wide-eyed visionary, a people's prophet, López is aristocratic and conservative by background, a soft-spoken but hard-boiled realist. When a group of young radicals, taking advantage of the newly granted right to strike, tried to swing the labor movement to communism, he tossed them out of the country as effectively as Gómez himself might have done. Wherever it was necessary to his program, he was a dictator. But he soon showed that he was a dictator only by necessity: he made the dummy Congress a truly deliberative legislature, and insisted that his own term of office be cut from seven to five years.

Since then, four years have passed. The President continues to live in his unpretentious home near Caracas, the capital. His two sons go on with workaday jobs outside the Government—to the bafflement of those who remember the lavish orgies and escapades of the Gómez boys. Government orders are headed "Without Exception," to make clear that the day of the privileged few has passed. Sons of the rich now serve their compulsory period in the army with sons of the peasantry. And Venezuela is ready to concede that it has something new in presidents.

Military trappings, Gómez' fetish, have disappeared from government. There are more doctors' degrees than army titles among cabinet members and others in high places. And honesty and competence have been made the sole requisites of the officeholder. Among López' critics—and there still are some unconvinced that his peasant-reclamation plan will work—I could not find one who could point to scandal, pecuniary or otherwise. This, with public money flowing into scores of projects, is an unprecedented achievement in Venezuela, where once only 10 per cent of a highway appropriation went into construction.

López is almost Scotch in his thrifty spending. The Government is modestly housed. The 1,050 schools opened under his régime are utilitarian. The 1,300 miles of highway are built, a few miles here and a few miles there, to open up ranching country, make a port more accessible, encourage colonization.

While deeply nationalistic, López emphasizes the need for more North American capital and technical skill. He has hired American engineers and other specialists for many of the new projects. And he has introduced a new, promising plan of collaboration with American investors.

The General Tire Company is building a plant in Caracas, half-ownership of which has been sold to Venezuelans, with the Government providing the land and making tax concessions. This, López expects, will eventually develop Venezuela's wild-rubber supply far up the Orinoco. More important, it makes industrial investors of native capitalists who would not go into industry on their own initiative, but who have confidence in American technical skill and management. From the American

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

viewpoint, it means the immediate good will of the public because native capital is interested on a partnership basis. A second American company, headed by Nelson Rockefeller, is making Venezuelan investments on the same basis, and several others are studying the plan.

López has encouraged two experimental colonies of immigrants, one of Danes, another of Spanish Basques and Portuguese. But he has no intention of throwing the country open to great masses of foreigners.

"We need such immigrants," he says, "strong, intelligent people who will mix with and improve our native population. But first we must open roads to give such colonies access to markets. We must give our own people better health and education so that they may be co-developers, not onlookers. A country that does not have a solid foundation of health, education and liberty within the law cannot offer a desirable home to the immigrants we need."

López has given this once hopeless country a new tone—a bigger-and-better-Venezuela spirit of the kind that infects an American boom-town chamber of commerce. It appears everywhere; even match covers distributed by the Government bear such slogans as, "Cultivate the soil and you cultivate your country."

But he knows the thing he has started cannot be accomplished over night. To grip public imagination, he has called his program a "three-year plan," but he has said privately that the country "must carry out a thirty-year plan." And he has laid the groundwork for this by bringing into key posts a group of able, public-spirited disciples. His Minister of Public Works, for instance, is E. J. Aguerrevere, a Stanford graduate with an American engineering background. And Dr. Esteban Gil Borges has come back from his post as associate director of the Pan American Union at Washington to serve as Foreign Minister. Col. Isaias Medina, the young Minister of War, is a López protégé who has the same control of the army which made López President, and enjoys the same public confidence. He is probably the administration candidate for President in 1941.

Venezuela's status today can be best described as semi-democratic, and López' program one of democracy-by-degree. López has sold the vast majority of the people an appreciation of their new liberties and a belief that his peasant-reclamation project will work. Where only 150,000 have heretofore been qualified by literacy to vote, he is broadening the base of true democracy by education of the masses. He has pulled the country out of the morass of feudalism and built strong safeguards against the new-era "isms." Incidentally, his spending program already has made Venezuela — oil-company purchases aside—the biggest per capita buyer of U. S. goods in Latin America.

A DOZEN Latin lands with problems and possibilities similar to Venezuela's are watching intently. Other leaders are pondering the thought that the people, rather than the gold, copper, oil and nitrates, are the real basis of wealth and stability for capitalist as well as peasant. López' one-man revolt may point the future course of Latin America and be of vital importance to us.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flight From the Communists

Translated from *La Lumière*, Paris Left-Liberal Weekly

(Editor's Note: The French Communist Party was split asunder by the war in Europe. As elsewhere in the world, sections of the party could not stomach the Nazi-Soviet Pact, nor the Moscow "line" acquitting Hitler of authorship in the conflict, and charging Britain and France with waging an "imperialist" war upon the Reich. The following article from a left-liberal Paris weekly illustrates the awkward position in which a wing of the French party found itself, after the Comintern turned apostate and embraced Nazism.)

WE, THE editors of *La Lumière*, cannot be under suspicion of sympathy for the Communist thesis. But we should like to inquire into the reasons which induced Deputy René Nicod and twenty of his colleagues to break publicly with the Communist party that duped them and, what is more grave, duped the great mass of the workers of France.

In a recent manifesto, twenty-one elected representatives (senators, deputies, state councillors and mayors) explained the reasons which induced them to leave the Communist party at the outset of the war. Incidentally, they established a new party under the label "French Popular Union."

In this manifesto, the signers first expressed their indignation that, as a result of their resignation from the party, Stalinites dared to brand them as renegades. Justifiably, they pointed out that it was not their own ranks, but the Stalinites themselves, who had repudiated the principles upheld for several years by the French Communist party.

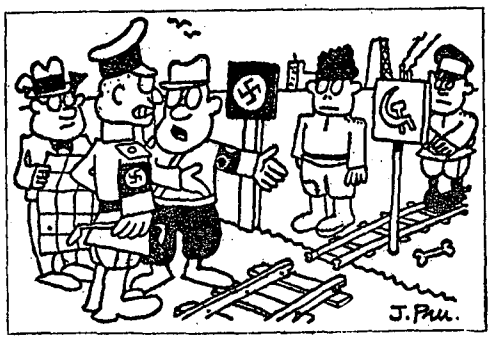
In support of that viewpoint, the manifesto cited many statements of Communist militants, made during the years 1938 and 1939. It is useless to reproduce them here, since no one will read them. It suffices to say that French Communists at that time were unanimous in fighting against the peril of Hitlerism. A firm policy of resistance against its inroads was their key policy, sometimes enunciated with unnecessary bombast. The manifesto asked, sarcastically, "Who are these whose opinion has changed overnight?" And the petition added: "Who are the real renegades? . . . And how do they justify their attitude? They speak now about the 'imperialist' war. But what kind of a comedy is this in which French Communists, up to September 30 of last year, called this war a struggle in defence of democracy, of liberty and of national independence, but after October 1 declared it, overnight, to be an 'imperialist war'?

"If it is, as they say, an 'imperialist' war, why did Communist deputies (on September 2) approve an appropriation of 96,000,000,000 francs for the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

war? Why did they urge the citizens of all Communist municipalities in France to participate to the utmost in the national defence, and to place themselves at the disposition of the military authorities? Why did they shout that the Communists would serve as a vanguard in the defence of democracy, with Marcel Thorez at their head?"

Elsewhere in the manifesto, interesting light is thrown on the proceedings in the caucus of the French Communist parliamentary group, held October 1. [On that date the seventy-two Communist deputies and the two Communist senators were expelled from Parliament, following the party's denunciation of French participation in the war against Germany. Of these, nine fled the country, thirty-five were jailed and seven received suspended sentences and were placed in concentration camps. The rest renounced their allegiance to the party; nine are serving again in Parliament and the other fourteen are fighting at the front.] In this caucus the Communist members, reorganizing themselves as the party of "French Workers and Peasants," drafted a letter to Edouard Herriot, president of the Chamber of Deputies, accusing France and Britain of waging an imperialist war, and acquitting Hitler of all responsibility for the bloodshed. Not one word against Hitler!



Because this letter to M. Herriot was signed by only two Communist deputies, MM. Bonte and Ramette, although sent in the name of the party of "French Workers and Peasants," its publication provoked spirited protests within the parliamentary group that had suffered expulsion. Several members of the group threatened to resign unless the ambiguity of the letter was explained away. Accordingly it was decided to write a supplementary letter, clarifying the first—but, alas, it has yet to appear. The sequel was that several Communist ex-members of Parliament were arrested, others disappeared, and Maurice Thorez, the party leader, deserted from the army and fled. [Thorez eventually turned up in Moscow, and more recently was reported in Germany.]

The "renegade" manifesto closed with a passage directed to "all those who embraced the Communist party." Thus:

"You manual and intellectual workers, small merchants and artisans, who gave your confidence to the Communist party: Do you believe that we have renounced our ideals? By no means. We were drawn toward communism by the intolerable spectacle of social evils in our country, and we remain true to our ideals. We will not desert them. More than ever before, socialism will remain for us the haven for a gasping and desperate humanity. But we will not push the working-class into the worst of adventures."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PALO ALTO
PUBLIC LIBRARY
READING ROOM

An educator disagrees with the Bilbo plan for colonization in West Africa

Liberia Fails as Negro Haven

By JOHN HARVEY FURBAY

(The following article is a reply to Senator Bilbo's article in the June LIVING AGE, *it is not an expression of opinion by the Editors. It is a presentation of one point of view, and we invite other articles relevant to this problem.)*

THE Greater Liberia Act which was introduced into the United States Senate on April 24, 1939, by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, has again raised the question of the colonization of large numbers of American Negroes on the continent of Africa. I feel that the arguments put forward by the advocates of the Act should be examined in the perspective of the situation and conditions in Liberia where Senator Bilbo proposes to send several million American Negroes to join the few thousand now there.

It is claimed that nearly three million of our colored citizens have expressed a desire to be returned to their native land of Africa, and are ready to go whenever the United States Government provides for their transportation and establishment in homes there. Such mass emigration would doubtless help solve some of the racial and economic problems here in America. And the idea of giving the Negro an opportunity to develop a civilization and culture all his own without white domination is commendable, but what about the American Negroes already repatriated to Liberia?

Senator Bilbo tells me that he has never been in Liberia; that he hoped to go there this year, but war conditions will probably not permit it. He assumes several things to be facts: that the American Negroes in Liberia are a happy and contented people; that they are economically self-supporting; that they are independent of any domination; that they get along well with the million and a half of uncivilized natives within their boundaries; that there are no racial or class prejudices among them; and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Liberia itself is a healthy land. He further assumes that the American Negro is African at heart and longs to return to his ancestors' heath.

I am not convinced that the American Negro has any real sentimental attachment for Africa or his African ancestry, or that many of them are interested in returning to Africa. I have talked with countless Negroes in colleges, shops, pullman trains, and Negro Y.M.C.A.'s, and I have not found a single one who had any notion of leaving America. When I ask them if they are not interested in the Republic of American Negroes in Liberia, they simply reply: "I don't think I want to go to Africa; that's no place for me. I'll stay right here where I have a job."

Of course, the jobless Negroes may be persuaded to sign petitions asking for passage to Africa or anywhere else that promises work, adventure or a living. That this is the class of people being put forward for repatriation is indicated by the fact that when the Ethiopian League petitioned President Roosevelt for money to transport colored people to Liberia, they asked that this be substituted for relief money to these persons.

Looking at the whole scheme from the standpoint of Liberia, as I have done during the progress of the plan, I say that Liberia cannot use or assimilate unemployed and impoverished American Negroes. When the President of Liberia, Edwin J. Barclay, was asked to state the position of his Government on the question of receiving large numbers of additional Negroes from America, he said that Liberia would welcome people of color who were trained in professions and trades, and who could come with sufficient money to support themselves; but he emphatically stated that no others were wanted.

Liberia is a land of many contradictions. It was given to the American freed Negroes in 1822 as a homeland. The American Colonization Society paid all the bills during its establishment, and the United States Government provided ships to transport the colonists. There were many able men among those first pioneers, and they put up a struggle against terrible odds. The Colonization Society always backed them up with money when needed.

They pacified the hostile natives who tried to annihilate them. They fought African diseases which were unknown to them, and countless numbers of them died in the first few months. They finally built a small town on the shore of the Atlantic, and named it for President Monroe. They cleared spaces in the jungles and planted small farms. Soon they were exporting small cargoes to Europe and America. They bought and operated ships of their own, and they established stores and trading centers among the natives.

But as time passed, they found that they could intimidate the natives and compel them to do the work for them. Sons and grandsons of the early settlers grew up taking native slave labor for granted. They stopped working, and became gentlemen—their idea of what the southern masters had been to their fathers in America. Labor became something beneath them, and they found other ways of living.

AFTER the Declaration of Independence was signed by the Liberians on July 26, 1847, the Ameri-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can Negro Government, which was set up to rule in place of the American governor formerly over them, began a systematic enslavement of the natives. It was soon found that there was still a market for slaves abroad, and the Liberian Frontier Force—though small in number—was said to be used by government officials for capturing natives and delivering them to ships that waited to take them away. This condition persisted, according to reports of the League of Nations, until 1930.

American intervention compelled the cessation of this practice, and President King was forced to resign in favor of Mr. Barclay, the present executive. The whole world was shocked at the exposé: ex-slaves from America running a profitable slave trade among their own fellows in Africa. This practice has stopped; but the attitudes behind it have not changed greatly. The Americo-Liberians (descendants of the American Negro colonists) still regard labor as undignified. They gave up their slaves who worked their farms, and the bush has grown up where coffee, sugar cane, and pineapples once thrived.

Abolition of slavery worked a severe hardship on the ruling class. The pinch of poverty was felt by all except the few who had laid away money during the slave-trading days. National debts piled up and creditor nations demanded at least their interest. Americo-Liberians were faced with the necessity of tilling the soil with their own hands or finding some other way to live as "gentlemen."

A system of taxation on the natives (who are not regarded as citizens and have no vote in the Government) was soon set up, and with Americo-Liberian District Commissioners over native regions a good revenue was soon flowing to the capital. The advent of the Firestone rubber plantations had provided employment for thousands of natives, so there was money to be had in the country.

American Negroes going to Liberia today would find themselves thrust into a society which does not permit a civilized man to keep caste and work with his hands. They would have little prospect of employment even if they sought it, for native labor is paid 9 pence a day (about 12 cents in American money at the present low rate of exchange on the pound sterling). Americans of color cannot live on those wages, so they would be automatically excluded from jobs on the rubber plantations which have the only sizeable payroll in Liberia.

To what could they turn, then? They could clear the jungles and establish themselves on farms, you reply—and that is what the Ethiopian League says. But with native labor so cheap, and with the sentiment absolutely against such work by civilized men, this would be a difficult thing to accomplish. Then, there is the complete lack of transportation and marketing facilities. The prices of agricultural products are so low that it would be next to impossible for newcomers to establish themselves on farms and exist. There are no farms in Liberia today, as we Americans know them.

They could not turn to trading, for this is monopolized by European firms and by Syrians.

It is because of this that the Liberian Government does not want un-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

employed American Negroes. They would be a menace to the security of the people already there—and there is no "relief" available in Liberia for unemployed people.

Professional men and skilled artisans would fare better. There is not a single Negro medical doctor in this Negro republic. There is need for engineers, carpenters, masons, mechanics and almost all the skilled craftsmen. They could make a living in Liberia if they were able to adjust to a climate where few live past the age of thirty-five. They would not be too welcome at first, for the Liberian aristocracy is jealous of its position and looks on newcomers with suspicion. Mass immigration would not obtain the consent of the Liberian rulers, lest they soon be displaced by these people, for the Americo-Liberians mean to stay "on top."

IT IS THE belief of many of us who have lived in Liberia that any great number of colored immigrants to that country would create a serious problem, both for the colonists themselves, and especially for the native people. The Negro race will never develop a culture or stable government of its own as long as it is thrown with inferior people on whom to rely for labor. In such situations, it is too easy to become parasites on the native people; create an artificial cloak of European civilization; and to degenerate rather than to build anything.

The Greater Liberia Act provides no remedy. It contemplates the purchase of 400,000 square miles of territory adjacent to Liberia from the British and French colonies of Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. It is implied that this deal would be made as part of settlements on the World War loans.

Such additional lands would suddenly increase the size of Liberia tenfold, and would place vast numbers of African natives under the rule of the new American Negro immigrants. The result would surely be the same degradation of both native and colonist that has taken place in the present state of Liberia. The natives do not trust their own race and affirm that they would prefer white rule to Americo-Liberian rule.

The American Negroes returned to Africa have not fulfilled their purpose, and there is little reason to believe that another wave of colonization would be different. Thomas Jefferson emphasized that one of the prime objectives of repatriating American Negroes to Africa was that these enlightened people might carry civilization and Christianity to the uncivilized natives. They were to be the leaven in "Darkest Africa." Churches in America glowed with enthusiasm over the prospect of establishing a missionary nation in the midst of heathenism, and some even reasoned that God had permitted the evil of slavery in America in order to Christianize black men for the redemption of Africa.

All that there is to show for a hundred and twenty years of colossal expenditures by mission societies in Liberia are a few Americo-Liberian churches in the capital and along the coast. Here one can see the aristocracy of the nation, dressed in morning suits and carrying canes, coming to service on Sundays. There is not the slightest concern for the "heathen" at their door. Not one church in Li-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beria maintains any missionary work of any sort in the interior for the native tribes. This is left entirely to American missions and white missionaries.

The only profitable enterprise in Liberia is politics. The Liberians themselves recognize this, and know that they are made and broken by it.

In a land of untouched natural resources, it seems strange that there is nothing else available for Liberia's young men. They are surrounded with opportunities, but turn to politics. Why is this? It is because of the attitude toward manual labor. Liberian pride rebels at such a thing, and the only white-collar jobs are political. This is another result of the close association of the Americo-Liberians with an inferior, or uncivilized, group. No one will deny that the American Negroes who have gone to Liberia were energetic and willing to work at any honest labor; neither will anyone who has lived in Liberia deny that this attitude is lost within a few weeks after landing in that country.

Any movement to improve the condition of the American Negro is commendable, and Senator Bilbo has made a worthy effort by urging continued colonization in Liberia. But I do not believe this is the answer. No American Negro who has been to Liberia would say that conditions are better for him there than in America. It is true that they would escape the racial discriminations here, but they would find themselves in a worse class discrimination in Liberia.

There is no respect in which American Negroes would substantially improve their condition in Liberia. Senator Bilbo laments the fact that in the State of Mississippi there are only 6,000 colored teachers for about a million Negro citizens. In Liberia there are less than a hundred trained Negro teachers for a million and a half population. He speaks of the lack of medical and hospital care for Negroes in his state, where Rockefeller money has helped clean up hookworm, and Rosenwald money has built spacious hospitals for Negroes. But in Liberia there is not even one modern hospital, except those operated by missionaries. There is neither a Negro physician nor undertaker in the whole Republic. Hookworm, sleeping sickness, malaria and dysentery cut the life span down to half that in America.

UNLESS Senator Bilbo can offer evidence that a million more repatriated American Negroes would do any differently than those already in Liberia, I cannot believe that his plan will help the Negro race achieve its aim of political independence, economic security or racial integrity.

President Barclay speaks of the eventual amalgamation of the Americo-Liberians and the native populations in Liberia as a foundation for national solidarity. He, himself, ignored all precedent and took a native wife, who is a charming hostess at the Executive Mansion in Monrovia; but the idea has not taken hold among the other Americo-Liberians. If the natives and the colonists from America should ever stand on equal footing, there is hope for Liberia, and it would be a promising place for colonization. Until that time comes, further repatriation will solve no important problem for them or for us.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The key to the campaign in the north is the strategic province of Shensi

On This Rock, China Makes Her Stand

By C. Y. W. MENG

From the *China Weekly Review,* Shanghai English-Language Weekly

SHENSI Province, with a territory of 75,318 square miles and a population of 10,069,033, is known as the treasure-house of Northwest China and the cradle of Chinese civilization. It is the most populated and best-developed province in the northwestern part of the country.

This province has a 500-mile front along the Yellow River on its eastern border, where the Chinese and Japanese armies have been exchanging cannon fire for many months, but not a single foot of its territory is under enemy occupation. The Yellow River front has a large Chinese force guarding against any possible attack. Occasional actions are also undertaken by Chinese defenders by sending across the river small units to operate behind Japanese lines. This strong defence, in addition to the natural barrier of the river, has held the Japanese at bay all the time.

In the opinion of Governor Chiang Ting-wen, Shensi is "the key to the entire North China campaign." It is not only the fortified gate to the nation's northwest, but also the main base for the future Chinese counter-offensive in North China.

As this province is of such military importance, the military training of the people has necessarily occupied much of the attention of the authorities. Out of a total of 2,274,232 able-bodied citizens eligible for military service, more than 200,000 men have been conscripted. Half of this number have actually joined the colors and others are being given military training.

Another report has it that more than 450,000 Shensi young men were trained at a cost of more than $1,220,000 in 1938, as a part of the civilian military-training program of the provincial government, carried out in co-operation with military authorities in Shensi. The city of Sian, meaning "Western Peace," began its civilian military training in September 1937, as an example to the entire province.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From January 1, 1938, forty-seven *hsien* or counties, most of them in central and southern Shensi, began to train civilians for military service. From July 1938 a total of eighty counties began to give their civilians military training. The entire province, with ninety-two counties, and the city of Sian, began to train its able-bodied young men in January 1939 when the provincial authorities mapped out a plan to train 1,500,000 men in three years to prepare them for regular military service.

Shensi is a rich province. It has a coal reserve of 71,950,000,000 tons out of a national total of 238,555,000,000 tons, and an estimated oil reserve of 2,277,000,000 barrels. Iron is also found in the southwestern part.

The province is self-sufficient in foodstuffs and fuel and has a surplus of cotton. It produces more than 67,000 tons of cotton each year, supplying the northwest as well as Szechwan Province. No less than 3,350,000 tons of cereals were reaped in 1938, while the summer harvest for 1939 is estimated at 1,675,000 tons in spite of the drought in southeastern and northeastern Shensi. The abundant cereal supply in these few years, which is unprecedented in the history of the province, is indeed a blessing.

To increase the production of the province's 6,000,000 acres of cultivated land, to stabilize the prices of daily necessities, to eliminate war profiteering, and to meet the needs of the people of the province, several bureaus are revolutionizing agriculture and transportation in Shensi.

WITH the removal of more than 11,000 tons of machinery from the Wuhan cities and Honan Province to Shensi, already the best-developed region in the northwest, to reinforce its existing factories, this strategic province is becoming one of the most important units in China's reconstruction program. The influx has brought fourteen large factories, besides the smaller ones, to three important centers in central, western and southern Shensi. Factories are still being removed from war-threatened areas to safer districts in the west. Most of the factories are concentrated in western Shensi, where there is railway and highway transportation.

Paochi, in southwestern Shensi and the western terminus of the Lunghai Railway, is turning into a modern city. A number of industrial plants have been moved from the various war zones to this city. Many sweeping changes and improvements have been made in the administration.

The province has now more than 2,000 kilometers of paved highways reaching all its important military points as well as neighboring provinces. Besides the large fleet of trucks and cars plying on these modern roads, thousands of mule carts, pack animals, rickshas, and carrying coolies are now transporting military supplies as well as daily necessities on the highways day in and day out. The provincial authorities have, since the outbreak of the war, given their full attention to the construction of military roads and other communications. Water conservancy and irrigation, however, are not neglected in spite of the province's present difficult financial condition.

Shensi, it may be noticed, has an estimated annual income of $16,000,000, while expenditures come to about $20,000,000. This deficiency is met

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by subsidies from the Central Government and loans.

By July 1939, the Reconstruction Commission had completed thirty-eight highways of a total length of 240 miles, connecting Sian with neighboring cities and historical and scenic places, and thirteen bridges of a total length of 3150 feet. It also planted 114,835 trees lining the various highways, built 108 streets inside Sian city with an aggregate length of 65 miles, 23 miles of sewage system, 254 model houses for poorer people, opened three new city gates, repaired 3 miles of road, and granted 4,014 construction permits valued at more than $3,310,000. The commission is now inviting bids for the construction of more roads and an enlarged sewerage system in the city in spite of the threat of enemy invasion.

Although the Japanese Army is barely ninety-nine miles, or four hours by train, to its east across the Yellow River, Sian, capital city of Shensi Province, is fast recovering from the devastating bombings it experienced in March 1939 and is now a more prosperous city than ever, with the coming and going of officers and men from the North China front. Coming to Sian, the visitor sees no airplanes, tanks, big guns or even soldiers marching in formation, only the large number of men and women in olive-green uniforms suggests that Sian is a war-front metropolis.

INTENSIFYING its fight against illiteracy in order to stimulate the uneducated masses for the present emergency, the Shensi Provincial Education Bureau has, since the outbreak of the hostilities, given much attention to social education in the province. Free schools for children, supplementary education for the uneducated grown-ups, Sun Yat-sen schools for special areas in northern Shensi, audio-visual education for the populace, circuit dramatic and singing troupes, and people's educational institutes for the common people, are all maintained by the bureau.

Of the province's 1,253,900 children of school age, 614,823 of them are receiving education in 432 public and private primary schools, 992 lower primary schools, 7,341 *pao* schools, 1,694 short-course schools, 634 short-course classes, 137 circuit-teaching classes, and 268 improved Confucius schools.

The five last-named types of schools, totalling 10,074, are free schools for poorer children and about 350,000 youngsters are thus educated. The bureau has ordered for 1939 the establishment of 13,423 schools of these kinds, an increase of 3,349 institutions. A budget of $983,056 has been appropriated for this purpose. Of this sum, the Ministry of Education gives $230,000, the Shensi Provincial Education Bureau $360,000, with the various counties making a total of $393,056.

The bureau plans to educate the 3,700,000 illiterate adults in Shensi within a year by giving them two months of school education each. The campaign against illiteracy began in 1936 when about 200,000 Shensi adults were taught to read and write. Progress, however, was delayed on account of the war, so only 87,328 men and women were educated in the second part of 1938. To remedy this situation, the bureau, with the co-operation of the Shensi military authori-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties, has mapped out a plan to educate 3,400,000 illiterates in one year. Of these 1,600,000 will be taught in 8,000 *pao* schools by having fifty students in one class every two months. The eighty middle schools and people's education institutes will teach 32,000 people. Three hundred independent people's schools will educate another 120,000. And another 160,000 will be taught in 400 complete primary schools.

HOWEVER, the majority of the province's illiterates will be educated by the army, militia and peace preservation corps. Every man of the province's peace preservation corps, every new conscript in the training camps, and every inmate of the base hospitals in Shensi will be taught by their political leaders. Every factory hand will be taught in classes established by factory owners. And the Shensi militia corps, which gives local civilians three months' or two months' military training in rotation, will also teach every man in the corps to read and write. These military organizations will teach 1,600,000 men in one year without cost to the Shensi Provincial Education Bureau. The budget of $125,530, including $60,000 from the Ministry of Education appropriated for Shensi mass education, is to be used for the printing of textbooks and the establishment of classes in other schools and institutions.

A MARTYR'S MASS

Father Miguel Pro, S. J., executed at Mexico City, November 23, 1927

By Alfred Barrett, S. J.

Kneeling he spoke the Names he loved the most
As the air was fanned by the whir of invisible wings;
He seemed like a priest about to breathe on the Host
After the *Sanctus* rings.

"This is My Body," he said on his First-Mass Day,
When the rose of priesthood slipped its snowy bud.
Lifting his chaliced heart now could he say
At death, "This is My Blood."

Swift as an altar chime the rifles rang . . .
The stole of crimson flowing over his breast,
How bright is burned, and how his sealed lips sang
The *Ite, Missa Est!*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Straws in the Wind

The New Aesthetics

What an astonishing transformation has occurred in the sphere of art since the Führer has presented to the eyes of his people the corporal manifestation of his own ideal of beauty, and created from this unity of art and people a new realm of aesthetic values.

——*Völkischer Beobachter*

Etiquette Note

I have noticed with amazement during the past few weeks quite a number of women and girls wearing huge peaked hats fashioned after those of the German higher command. Promenading with headgear of that design at such a time is beyond my comprehension.

—Letter to the *London Daily Mail*

He Can't Ask for More

The Norwegian writer Knut Hamsun, whose sympathies for totalitarian régimes are well-known, recently wrote the following in an Oslo newspaper:

"We Norwegians do not wish to fall under the domination of a foreign power. Thus, more and more, our hopes turn toward Germany."

Knut Hamsun has been accommodated.

—*La Lumière*, Paris

The Higher Eugenics

Lady Howland is the wife of Lord Howland, elder son of the Marquess of Tavistock and grandson of the Duke of Bedford. Her baby son and heir, who is not yet ten weeks old, had the distinction of being born at the Ritz.

—*The Sketch*, London

Tit for Tat

"The principle of tit for tat is particularly true of totalitarian warfare, and it gives rise to fearful strains upon the nations who participate in it."

—The late General Von Ludendorff, in a textbook issued by the German army

Reconciliation Piece

Excerpts from the private ledger of a Stockholm business man:

March 1	Advertisement for a girl secretary	Kronor	10.00
" 2	Violets for the new secretary	"	5.00
" 3	One month's salary (in advance) secretary	"	250.00
" 7	Roses for secretary	"	15.00
" 8	Chocolate bar for my wife	"	0.75
" 13	Lunch with secretary	"	20.00
" 15	Increase in secretary's salary, in advance (owing to high costs of living)	"	100.00
" 17	Movie tickets for me and wife	"	2.20
" 20	Theater tickets for me and secretary	"	16.00
" 21	Chocolate for wife	"	1.00
" 23	Further increase in Maud's salary (in advance)	"	25.00
" 24	Theater and supper with Maud	"	50.00
" 25	New spring dress and silver fox for wife	"	1,000.00
" 26	Advertisement for a male secretary	"	10.00

—*Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm

Sounds Fatiguing

"The American voter, passionately following the race for the White House, scrutinizes the European horizon while keeping an eye simultaneously on the clouds over the Pacific."

—Maurice Lekobra in *Le Journal*, Paris

Allies

"R.A.F. Reported Aiding Allies"
Heading in Evening Paper.

We always hoped they'd come in on our side.

—*Punch*, London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Imperial Gout

"On the rest of the human race gout has a weakening effect, but on British statesmen it acts as an imperialist stimulant." This statement was made recently by an Italian paper in connection with Mr. Chamberlain's famous affliction.

Of all the ills to which mankind
Is heir, there is no doubt
There's one for national thankfulness—
Known as "Imperial Gout."
Its influence on history
Can never be disputed,
Nor on our Empire policy
Can ever be computed.
Pitt the Elder, "stimulated"
By painful gouty feet,
Gave Britain world supremacy
By her victorious fleet;
Then, one generation later,
As Minister of War,
The Younger Pitt, with fighting mien
The same distinction bore.
Great Champion of Imperial Rights,
Vigorous and doughty,
Lord Palmerston made Britain feared
When truculent and gouty.
In modern times we've had Asquith,
That master of pure diction.
Whose highest flights of eloquence
Were reached with this affliction;
Now, next in turn comes Chamberlain,
As, hobbling with a stick,
He shows the world his gouty foot
Still has a mighty kick.
"*Gott strafe* England," with one accord
The Nazi legions shout;
They might well change to "*Gott* help us,"
If Churchill gets the gout.

—*Evening Telegram*,
St. John's, Newfoundland

War by Prescription

Recently some far-visioned acquaintance informed G.B.S. that future wars would have less of a military than a scientific and chemical aspect.

"Microbes will replace gas," the playwright's confidant added. "And obviously, the generalissimo of the future will be a doctor."

"Quite," Shaw agreed. "And prescriptions will replace conscription."

—*L'Order*, Paris

It's an Idea

It happened in 1942.

Propaganda had reached such heights that the Germans had been converted to the British viewpoint, and the British to German totalitarianism.

At that point, of course, the war started all over again.

—*De Groene Amsterdammer*

Acme of Opulence

Q. How does one recognize a rich man in Germany?

A. By the grease spots on his vest, of course.

Q. But what is the sign of fabulous riches?

A. The ability to buy gasoline to remove the spots.

—*L'Europe Nouvelle*, Paris

Nazi Diplomacy

"To avoid regrettable errors, the Luxemburg press is strongly advised to treat all news dispatches with particular caution, with the exception of the manifestly veracious communiqués of the German Supreme Command."

—German legation circular to editors, before the May invasion

Lingual Rations

At the wish of the King, Princess Elizabeth is to cut down the time spent on learning German. Arrangements have been made for her to begin lessons in Spanish.

—*Reynolds News*, London

Consistency

Gestapo agents in Belgium, before the invasion, were all members of a "Society for the Care of German Graves in the World War," a "front" for their spy activities. During intervals between their treacherous labors, these Hitler agents actually laid flowers on a few of the German graves, doubtless thinking up means of creating new ones.

—*Paris-Soir*

The Peerage Stoops

Lady Elphinstone, the Queen's sister, accepted a plain digestive biscuit yesterday as a token of the occasion when she opened a Y.M.C.A. canteen in the Waverley Station, Edinburgh, for men of the Forces.

—*Sunday Times*, London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Massachusetts state senator gives a blueprint of pressure-group technique

Lobbying, Our Political Disease

By ARTHUR F. BLANCHARD

MEDITATING upon the political history of these United States, we must conclude that ever since the first patriots removed their three-cornered hats and knelt in prayer at the first Congress, there have been amongst us those who have sought to profit by special privilege, even though the realization of their selfish aims constituted treachery. Today, when Americans too comfortably assure themselves of their democratic superiority to other nations, they might pause to examine more closely the forces that dictate our laws and even our political thinking—the lobby, a problem in every state legislature as well as in the Congress.

There can never be a true people's lobby in this country, for various reasons. In the first place, motion-picture producers have indisputably established the twelve-year-old intelligence standard of the American public. Next place, anyone familiar with local or national political campaigns knows that the masses are necessarily more concerned with making a living, and with casual entertainment, than they are with the problems of keeping the ship of state on an even keel in stormy weather. How simple it is, by newspaper, radio, cinema and other big-time agencies of propaganda, to guide the hand that marks the ballot! It is credible that a propaganda group, with a lobbying budget of vast proportions—sufficient to outshout the "rugged individual"—could change our Government almost over night from the theoretical democracy of the present to communism or fascism. Even "non-partisan" political-research bureaus may be subsidized by selfish and hidden interests.

There are national and state laws to regulate lobbying. The Hatch Law, for example, is designed to curb the political labors of Federal-paid employees, who quite naturally wish to perpetuate themselves in office, with gradually increasing salaries and prestige. This statute apparently does not impress such Federal bureaus as the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Labor Relations Board, whose members have glorified themselves before an investigating committee as having ignored the law. And there is nothing to prevent a Congress subservient to a Chief Executive, or in its own interests, from appropriating public money for the purpose of lobbying in its own interests. One recent exhibit in the case was the census propaganda.

The practical worth of laws to regulate lobbying are as effective as attempts to legislate the tides of the ocean, for example, or to limit campaign expenditures, or to balance the national budget. We seem content to live under delightful delusions produced by dream laws. Our Government instead of devoting its major energies to the supervision, regulation and protection of conflicting groups or classes of citizens, is, and always has been, an expert agency for the distribution of our national wealth and resources to those special interests which maintain a costly lobby.

AMERICAN-STYLE lobbying, which differs from European methods of getting your own generous slice of the community pork, began in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in town meetings, with the solution of problems of private property. It attained its height in the empire-building period following the Civil War, when large cash subsidies from the Federal treasury were secretly siphoned into the pockets of the promoters of the "Atlantic-and-Pacific" railroad scheme and their legislative puppets. Millions of acres of the national domain, with its natural resources, were distributed to those American financiers who could count up to ten, while the unlettered boobs who tilled the farms and created the values of industrial progress, or wore the Blue or Gray, were incapable of counting their income beyond their index finger.

Those early methods can be described in one word—bribery. That explains why laws relating to lobbying are always associated with the corruption of lawmakers. Those were the furtive days of the satchel bulging with shares of Credit Mobilier, the fabulous holding company for the Union Pacific, earmarked for tractable congressmen; days when the soul of America was auctioned for gold, when reputations of officials, from the President down, were swept into the sewer of popular disgust, and when at last a tidal wave of public contrition, in 1874, swept the Republican party from Congress.

Just before its members realized their game was up, the Congress of the United States enacted the notorious "Salary Grab Act" of 1873, which raised or doubled the salaries of President, members of the Cabinet, Supreme Court justices, representatives and senators. That was, perhaps, not so vicious as it has been interpreted; because if you want honest and capable men to neglect their business for public service, you must pay them enough to keep them from the temptations offered by lobbyists.

Massachusetts, whose "statesmen" dragged lobbying to its lowest depths and yet have since sounded the clearest call for reform, is today the prime example that laws to regulate lobbying are futile. The hypocrisy of the nation and its states, whose constitution or statutes provide penalties for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bribery and illegal lobbying, is obvious. There has never been a prosecution for violation of such laws in Massachusetts; and it is a certainty that no subservient attorney general of the United States will ever prosecute illegal activities that are advantageous to whatever administration holds the key to the Federal treasury.

THE upshot of Massachusetts lobbying statutes in practice is that legislative counsel or agents, and their employers, must register with the sergeant-at-arms, and designate the legislation on the docket in which they are interested. Committees of the General Court (the State legislature) are forbidden to allow unregistered lobbyists to testify. But the precious docket is kept well under cover during legislative sessions, there is no appropriation for supplying copies of the docket to committee members, and few State representatives or senators ever catch a glimpse of it. One month after prorogation, the lobbyists file a "swindle sheet" of expenses with the State Secretary, which is cautiously paraphrased by the newspapers in the State.

—*Punch*, London

In the Bullfinch State House, at Boston, during legislative sessions a deadline is drawn about fifty feet from the entrance to the Senate or House chamber; and the lobbyist must send in a card to the legislator to whom he wishes to plead, and the latter emerges at his sweet convenience. This seemingly invidious precaution is not because of the legislator's distrust of his pal the lobbyist, but rather because of the excessive zeal of numbers of the lobbyist tribe. Lobbyists may squat in the gallery of either legislative branch, however, to hear debates and check the votes of their stooges; and they may frequent the corridors at other times. They may also make contact by letter, wire, in person, or even in the grand manner of a radio fireside-chat. Unregistered lobbyists in Massachusetts, despite statutes to the contrary, do nevertheless enter the House or Senate chamber, loiter in the reading-room and even occupy the seats of officers of the legislature. The sergeant-at-arms is not allowed to do his duty—that is, expel these interlopers—even after complaint is made. Here for national contemplation is a typical picture of our State legislature. . . .

Looking over the states of the Union, we gather that the lobbyist is in clover in South Carolina, where the minimum penalty is $25, but must watch his step in Utah, where he may have to pay as much as $10,000—if a corporation. Again, Wisconsin is very sensitive over material published in newspapers or other periodicals, tending to influence pending legislation.

Massachusetts penalties, in vir-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tual abeyance, provide a maximum fine of $1,000 and disqualification of lobbyists for three years, and disqualification from public office for a legislator found guilty of accepting a bribe.

It's about time for John Citizen to get wise to himself and stop writing his congressman futile letters of protest. In political parlance, anyone who writes his congressman is an amateur lobbyist. In any event, his letter or telegram doesn't get beyond some second or third assistant secretary. If John Citizen's sentiments agree with those of the big pressure groups, then he is merely a yes-man; if they happen to disagree with the big powers, then he has wasted good stationery, and helped decrease the Government deficit in the Postoffice Department. Unless he is an enrolled member of the American Federation of Labor, or the Veterans of Past, Present or Future Wars, or Unlimited Pensions, Inc., or the Chamber of This or the Associates of That, etc., etc., he might as well save paper and ink. His only chance is at the polls—and half the time he elects to stay comfortably at home.

The greatest danger to the United States today lies in the weakening of the legislative branch of our government. Congress has always been under the lash of the more powerful lobbies. With a history of consistent pusillanimity dating from Valley Forge, progressing through the stock speculations of the Civil War, the embalmed beef of the Spanish War, the surrender of the national treasury to the Bonus Boys of the World War, and down to the present verge of congressional submission to dictatorship—when has there ever been a creditable chapter?

Groups of public-spirited citizens who urge one of their kind to become a candidate for public office are the original lobbyists. They want something, usually a reduction in their taxes, or a new bridge across County Creek, or they yearn sadistically but vaguely to drive-the-rascals-out. The next step in lobbying is to raise money for the campaign. With this fund, the political white-haired boy proceeds to buy votes with cash, tribute to seasonal political clubs, and to the newspapers — by large advertisements — and with various promises to potentially rival candidates and influential citizens.

A mayoral candidate for re-election, for example, dips deeply into the public vaults for cash and temporary jobs, with which to purchase influential leaders of citizens. The deluded electorate is apparently satisfied, if it is not convinced, that it is getting back more from its legislators than it pays them in salary. The legislator, for his part, can find no more generous angel, if he needs to break even, than the venal lobbyist.

EVERYBODY lobbies the legislator. Of selfish pressure groups, with legislation in view, there is no end: in the name of banking, business, chamber of commerce, church, civic, civil liberties, economics, farmer, industry, insurance, labor, moral, patriotic, political, public employee, public utility, race, religion, social, teacher, trade, veterans, women—why go on? Every kind of solicitation is used, involving either a threat or a promise to the harassed legislator. "Why not?" you ask. The answer is that in order fully to protect his interests, it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would be necessary for each citizen to become a member of every selfish group, but for such membership he would find himself ineligible. The more material answer is that because of these special pressure groups the legislation that is enacted faithfully reflects the interests of the lobbyists. Government jobs are multiplied, needless bureaus are continued, contractors are overpaid, dishonest appointments are made, and the people receive less pure air, water and sanitation; less food, shelter, education and transportation; and less fire and police protection for their homes and families than they pay for in taxes.

Under the virtual two-party system in Massachusetts, and despite the provisions of law forbidding any member of a district or State political committee to act as legislative counsel or agent, the legislator is under constant pressure to support measures favored by his political party, or advantageous to the political fortunes of the governor, and to defeat those favorable to the opposite party or its chieftains. He is materially rewarded for his party loyalty and chastised for any undue independence of action.

During the progress of political party measures, there is organized lobbying of the most intense kind. The governor instructs his party leaders, and the speaker of the house and the president of the senate, through their respective floor leaders, crack the whip over their party members. Those who fall into line obediently are on the honor list for appointments or other favors at the hands of the Administration. This is the system that gives us our department heads and our judges. Crises arrive when the issue is faced of passing legislation over the veto of the governor.

The type of lobbyist most menacing to the integrity of the legislator is like the prowling cat whose avid eyes never rest upon the canary. He loves all lawmakers, and openly proclaims his complete indifference toward legislation. His name may not appear on any docket either as legislative counsel or agent. These invisible lobbyists are shrewd businessmen, quite the antithesis of the stiff-necked agents of reform, who rely more upon prejudices and dire threats of political extinction than upon oil for the lamps of homes of tractable legislators. Their stock in trade is good-fellowship. In Massachusetts, they throw parties for select groups of lawmakers, or they dine, wine and entertain the entire membership of a political party, or even the legislature itself. Some have card indexes, showing the political and "moral" records of influential legislators. Some have offices equipped with many multiple switchboards and the facilities of a military G.H.Q.

Nobody knows how many legislative measures they introduce, with the connivance of legislators, for the sole purpose of being hired to defeat those same measures, and nobody is too inquisitive concerning their profits.

The unseen lobbyist begins his work by trying to collaborate in the election of high State officials, from governor down to speaker of the house, or president of the senate. He wants legislators of his choice appointed as chairmen of committees that are likely to handle legislation in which he is—or hopes to be—financially interested. He wants to have a say in the appointment of department heads or the judiciary.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The stooges of such type of lobbyist are preferably former legislators, with a wide acquaintance among politicians, and lawyer-legislators who, on inside jobs, can safely, if not quite legally, accept bribes of fees or profitable law clients, and act generally in a manner that would send less knowledgeable legislators to jail. There is no little resentment, on this score, among their ex-colleagues.

The ex-legislators serve as "runners," through whom the boss lobbyist hands out perquisites and even party patronage; they are the delivery boys for the "pounds of tea" or the "cocoanuts." It is the business of the "runner" to attend all political social gatherings, to "psychoanalyze" the lawmakers, drunk or sober, and learn how they stand on particular measures. Sometimes, as his own side-racket, the "runner" may "collect" on the votes of legislators who cannot be bought, or have not been bought; or he may retain a portion of the bribe, with little risk of questions being asked.

When the actual votes go contrary to expectations, or are changed, the "runner" is ready with explanations. The average House member, especially if a novice, knows nothing of this system, and a decent proportion of senators merely "smell a rat."

NOTABLE instances of lobbying in Massachusetts, taken at random, are of passing interest. The act placing the Boston Elevated Railway under public control, in 1918, safeguarded the holders of stocks and bonds, including the savings banks, prevented public ownership, stock manipulation and bankruptcy for the transit system vital to Metropolitan Boston—but, on the other hand, cluttered up the vaults of embarrassed legislators with thousands of shares of common and preferred railway securities. Nobody was fined or jailed.

A constitutional amendment, in 1919, stopped the practice of house and Senate members lobbying among themselves, by nuisance tactics or political stultification, into $1,000 appointments to recess committees. For compensation, the legislators merely increased their salaries.

The Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Association sagely adopted the lobbying methods of organized labor, and by public demonstrations and political intimidation obtained in 1938 a constitutional amendment for biennial sessions, thereby depriving the electorate of political representation during off years, and satisfying the demands of the big real estate, banking, insurance and public utility interests and their controlled newspapers. This group is now considering

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whether to press for a unicameral legislature in Massachusetts, similar to the experiment in Nebraska where, by some paradox, they may be shocked to find that there are four or five registered lobbyists to each of the forty-three senators.

Dog-track lobbyists in Massachusetts carried their opposition to increased taxes to such an extent that their very physical presence in the State House corridors created such an odor that even innocent senators were greeted jocularly with, "Here comes Swifty!" But the notorious "Hurricane Millions," appropriated in haste to repair the state-wide ravages of a general calamity, were handled in more direct fashion, without the aid of our friend the lobbyist. Nobody, again, has been fined or imprisoned. It is perfectly clear that in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts the standards of government are not those of economy, efficiency and honesty, but political partisanship, race and Christian creed.

Thus it has become a maxim that if a legislator votes with his church, and stands in with the more corrupt lobbyists, nothing can prevent his perpetual continuance in public office. Even if his party goes down to defeat, he will be taken care of. It is therefore not surprising that the more intelligent and capable of the lawmakers are susceptible to the influence of gift-bearing lobbyists. The cream of this higher-intelligence group, more ambitious than their less-gifted colleagues, naturally do not choose to labor long, for a pittance, in the legislative vineyards; and so the realistic lobbyist raises them to higher elective or administrative offices, or to an executive chair in big business.

For the honest average citizen, with average ability, there is a very limited opportunity as a legislator. If he allows his sense of duty, or the flattery and excitement of minor politics, to ruin his business and pauperize his family, he is a fool, however much of a patriot. He and his class can never change the spots of traditional American politics. Power and the proletariat are stronger than he. The lobbyist may achieve a compromise sort of government, by conflict of pressure groups, but the realization of a perfect democracy depends upon the character of the people as a whole.

The Sixth Column

In scarcely more than a month, the label "fifth column" became a household word in the United States, and now it is in common use throughout the world. The French press has now seized upon the "sixth column" as a designation for those civilians who, unwittingly or otherwise, spread demoralization by defeatist observations, chronic pessimism and profound despair. The fear of French editors is that such *défeatisme* may become epidemic and cause the civilian population to exert pressure upon the Government to deal with the enemy, observes *L'Ordre*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War's Aftermath in Norway

From the *Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm Conservative Daily

UNEMPLOYMENT insurance, for many years the pride of Norway, has ceased to function since the occupation [and capitulation, June 9] of the country by the German invaders. The Oslo Government maintains that this cessation is temporary, and due solely to economic uncertainties of the moment. But no one with an eye to the realities of the present picture believes that unemployment insurance, in the model form it existed in Norway, will be reintroduced in the immediate future.

The breakdown in unemployment insurance comes at a particularly critical time for Norway. The economic life of the entire country is faced with a fundamental transformation in consequence of the German occupation. Thousand of Norwegian workers in hundreds of categories, together with almost as many thousands of civil servants, are on the brink of loss of their jobs, if they have not lost them already. Cessation of unemployment benefits could hardly occur at a less propitious time.

It is argued by some that, while the end of this insurance is unfortunate, there is compensation in that workers no longer need pay the premiums. But the premiums were infinitesimal compared to the generous State subsidies before the Germans came.

The food shortage in the south of the country is becoming more acute with each day, and much apprehension is felt for the situation next winter. Most of Oslo's beautiful parks are being transformed into potato fields and truck-gardens. Huge tracts on the outskirts of the capital have been appropriated for potato cultivation. The same is true of hospital grounds in the city.

Other severe difficulties are caused by the shortage of horses. At the outset of Norway's mobilization, the Government requisitioned most of the farm horses. After the military debacle in the south, the horses fell into the possession of the Reichswehr. This means that cultivation in many districts is well-nigh impossible, a fact which in a few months may spell catastrophe. The forces of occupation have tried to remedy this shortage by offering the farmers tractors—on terms—but the number of tractors available is pitifully inadequate to guarantee feeding the population next winter, or feeding them something other than fish.

In the confusion of the war and the occupation, farmers' tools and machinery disappeared. The German authorities offer seed "on liberal terms," but seed is of no value when the farmer lacks his plow, his livestock, and his tools. German columns largely laid waste the country as they raced north. The fuel commission seized large supplies of wood, which had been set aside for special processing, for use as firewood, which means the end of one of Norway's great export industries. Overnight, the lumber industry of the country has ceased to function.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Twenty-five Years Ago

World events as interpreted by The Living Age, *July 1915*

IN JUNE 1915 Great Britain took the unprecedented step of forming a coalition Government, though the Liberal Herbert Asquith remained as Prime Minister. Sydney Brooks, writing in the *Outlook* (London) as an "old Liberal," regretted some of the ministers who had been ousted to make room for the opposition leaders in the new cabinet. "If the main test be administrative efficiency—and it is, of course, only one of several tests—then a distribution of offices which ousts Mr. Churchill [then a Liberal] and Lord Fisher and puts in their place Mr. Balfour and an unknown quantity is not likely to be received by the country with any feelings but amazement." He believed: "The Government will win the confidence of the country only in so far as it brings fresh vigor and imagination and concerted efficiency to bear on the business of the war." . . . According to the *Saturday Review* (London), "It is very difficult to wind Englishmen up to the level of a great emergency. Their delight in muddled compromise belongs to their profound distrust of general principles. For a long time it has been recognized as an inveterate national habit; and it will explain to historians why the party truce met with no discussion in the House of Commons. The Government passed from one weak compromise to another because they feared overmuch an incalculable public," and, "The main principle that governs a nation during a time of great peril is one that undisciplined countries never like. It demands from those who desire to rule, as from those who are willing to be ruled, a complete surrender of all self-interest and of all whims and prejudices." . . . James Davenport Whelpley wondered in the *Fortnightly Review* just what Germany hoped to gain by her apparent attempts to force the United States into the war, aside from, perhaps, partial cessation of supplies to the Allies. "A possible future advantage which does not appear to be beyond the bounds of Teutonic dreams of conquest is that with the United States a declared enemy, no excuse would be needed to proceed against her after the rest of the world had been reduced to a state of vassalage." . . . The *Outlook* felt that Germany was risking everything for present economic advantage and "cannot stop to consider what effect her attitude toward America may have on the political and commercial relations of the two countries five or ten years hence." . . . Another neutral seemed to be at that time in more immediate danger. According to En Vedette in the *Fortnightly Review*, "The position of the neutrals is extremely difficult, and for no state is it fuller of anxiety and peril than for Holland," where a suspicion had recently sprung up that "the German military and naval authorities are coming round to the view that the neutrality of Holland has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

served its turn and is now rather an obstruction than an aid," in other words that the use of Dutch ports as submarine bases, particularly Antwerp and the Scheldt, had become of more importance than as channels for supplies. . . . Italy, however, had forsaken her neutrality and "with clean hands and a pure heart enters into the War by the side of her new Allies, to whom she has always been bound by common interests and common ideals. This is not a cabinet war. It is the war of a single-purposed and united nation determined at all costs to defend its sacred rights, and those of Belgium, Serbia and Poland, in the name of honor, justice and freedom." (Arundel del Re in the *Nineteenth Century and After.*) . . . G. M. Trevelyan, in the *Westminster Gazette,* considered that, "Of all the inaccurate prophecies that have been made since July last year, the most foolish-looking at this moment is the lively epigram that 'Italy would run to the assistance of the victor.'" He felt that the Italians were too well aware of what their position—and that of all the small Central European countries—would be in case of a German victory, not to have joined the Allies eventually. He noted that among the Italian "neutralists" were some "aristocratic and great mercantile families, who thought that a German victory would be the best security against socialism and democracy all the world over." . . . The London *Nation* described the first Zeppelin raid on London as having failed to produce *Schreck* (fright) but instead a "popular and pleasurable excitement"—another instance of German inability to calculate mass psychology in spite of "their ancestral aptitude for philosophy, and their profound study of the human mind." . . . P. Delannoy, Librarian of the University of Louvain, tabulated in the *Nineteenth Century and After* some of the losses in the burning of the Louvain Library (so recently burned again). . . . The *Academy* reported that, "Many travellers from the Far East predict that the Japanese are developing an incipient Teutonism, that the degraded maxims of that accursed system are in Japan beginning to breed a fresh chimera of the familiar type," and that she "is but waiting for her chance to spring at the throat of China." . . . In the *Contemporary Review* George Toulmin discussed the possibility of a *United States of Europe* but decided that, "A league to enforce decisions upon a sovereign power to which that power does not assent does not repudiate militarism as a governing factor, and is a league for war, and not for peace." . . . In the *New Statesman,* S. K. Ratcliffe found Billy Sunday "perhaps the most significant personal force in America today," and regretted that William James had not lived to add a chapter on him to the *Varieties of Religious Experience.* . . . An anonymous writer in the *New Statesman,* however, felt that "Billy Sunday would be nowhere if the politician [William Jennings Bryan] were to enter his field." Bryan had just resigned as Secretary of State under fire from those who held that he was "so little versed in the world's affairs that, whenever a crisis of any kind approached, the President himself was forced to take charge"; also that in time of war the Secretary of State should not devote most of his time to Chautauqua and temperance lectures at $500 a night.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California's first capital, founded by Spaniards, has lived under three flags

Historic Monterey

By HELEN BURNS

FOR MANY Americans the history of California dates back only to the rough and rowdy gold-rush days of 'forty-nine. Yet almost two and a half centuries before the covered-wagon pioneers—eighteen years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock—in the year 1602 Sebastian Viscaino unfurled the Spanish flag over the harbor of Monterey in the new land of California. Even Viscaino was not the first to discover it, for the Spanish explorer, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo had been there eight years before. Viscaino merely reaffirmed Cabrillo's claim.

From then on Monterey (not to be confused with the Mexican city of that name) was for many years the dramatic center of a great state, for under the Spanish, Mexican and, finally, American flags Monterey was the capital of California. The present capital is Sacramento, 191 miles away, but Monterey still retains the romance of her historic eminence.

On the Monterey Peninsula there are now, in fact, three cities: the old city of Monterey where the surging surf inspired Robert Louis Stevenson to write *Treasure Island*; Pacific Grove, the "City of Homes" and the only community in California without a bar or cocktail lounge; and, across the hill, bohemian Monterey, where many artists and writers live. Only 125 miles from San Francisco and 336 from Los Angeles and Hollywood, Monterey is an ideal stop-over for Americans travelling to or from the International Golden Gate Exposition in San Francisco this summer; and as a vacation spot it is one of the most pleasant on the Pacific Coast.

The story of Monterey itself is one of the most fascinating in American history. Magellan had made his fam-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

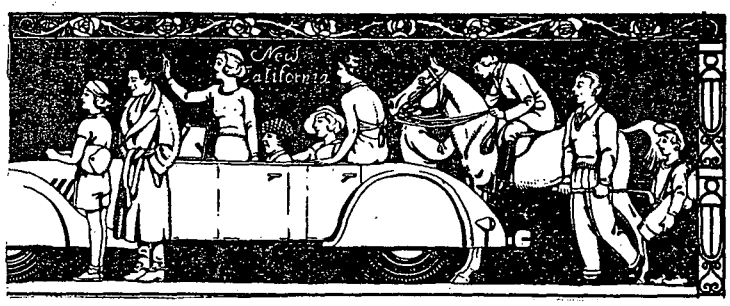
ous circumnavigation of the globe and raised the flag of Spain over the Philippines in 1519. Then came the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru. The tales of the Spanish explorers and adventurers are always those of conquest, cruelty and loot—thrilling reading but not a very happy contribution to civilization itself, except perhaps their missionary attempts. It was not until 1769, however, that Captain Gaspar de Portola, leading the first overland expedition through the Californias, camped on the shores of the Bay of Monte Rey, the name which Viscaino had given to the Bay of Pines he had claimed in the name of Spain more than a hundred years before. Captain Portola went back to his headquarters in San Diego and the next year returned with an expedition, whose members included Fray Junipero Serra and Father Crespi, and a mission and presidio was founded. Fathers Crespi and Serro both died in 1782 and their bones are entombed in the mission.

In 1792 the British explorer George Vancouver, who had accompanied Captain Cook in the discoveries of Hawaii and other Pacific islands, arrived in Monterey and was entertained at the Mission. Many historians are of the belief that Vancouver at that time and again in 1794 was doing a little bit of military "exploring," sizing up the Spanish garrison with the possibility in mind of a British seizure of that part of the California coast. The royal Presidio, which had been founded in 1770 and where services are still held in the chapel, at that time contained a rather strong garrison, however. The Presidio itself consists of approximately 400 acres and today is the garrison for the Eleventh Cavalry and Second Battalion, Seventy-sixth Field Artillery.

In 1818 Presidio and town were sacked and burned following a naval attack by Bouchard. The proclamation of Mexican rule was read before the troops in the Presidio in 1822 and the Mexican flag fluttered from the Customs House staff. The old Customs House still stands and is the oldest government building in California. The central section was built by the Spanish in 1814, Mexico constructed the lower north end in 1827 and the rest of the building was built between 1841-46. It is now a state historic monument and museum.

A CURIOUS incident in the history of Monterey was the arrival in 1834 of the big vessel *Natalia* which was wrecked in the harbor. Under the name of *Constante,* this was supposed to have been the vessel aboard which Napoleon escaped from exile at Elba.

In 1836, Juan Alvarado, the Mexican Governor, made an unsuccessful attempt to declare California another



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Texas—independent of Mexico. Six years later—1842—Commodore Ap Catesby Jones, in the belief that war had been declared between Mexico and the United States, staged an abortive capture of Monterey. Proper apologies, salutes to the replaced Mexican flag and drinks all around ended the matter, except that Commodore Jones was summoned to Washington to face court martial. He was acquitted. The Commodore apparently was not far wrong, but just a bit previous in his hunch, because in 1846, in the course of our war with Mexico. Commodore Sloat landed Marines at Monterey and claimed California for the United States. That day—July 7, 1846—and the discovery of gold in California two years later, caused Monterey's political sun to set as San Francisco began its meteoric rise. Monterey, which for more than two hundred years *was* California, its commercial center, principal seaport and capital, was left with only its dreams—until, fifty years ago, artists, writers and hotels discovered it again.

In Monterey County, and particularly the city of Monterey itself, there are more than fifty-four historic buildings, many of which are in excellent condition. Among them, besides the Carmel mission church and the Monterey mission, which was the headquarters of all the California missions, there is, near Salinas, Hartnell College, the first college in California. This building is now but a shell of ruins. There is also the State's first theater. Situated back of a business establishment on Alvarado Street, in Monterey, is a crumbling adobe wall, which is all that remains of the city's once famous full-fighting ring.

Three big events each year draw large numbers of visitors from all parts of the State and nation to Monterey County. The most famous of these is the California Rodeo, usually staged in July at Salinas, where gather the best in horse flesh and cowboys to make it rank as the finest wild-west show in the country. More typical of the real rodeos staged in the early Spanish days is the King City Stampede, while the Monterey County Fair, held in Monterey each September, brings together the finest cattle and the best farm exhibits for public showing, with horse racing, night shows and all the other features that go with a county fair.

The Monterey Peninsula, jutting out into the Pacific, is created on the east by the indenture in the land caused by the Bay of Monterey and on the south by the Bay of Carmel. Draw a circle around the peninsula and its diameter will be only five miles. Yet within that circle are Monterey, Pacific Grove and Carmel, not to mention beautiful pine forests, magnificent cypress trees indigenous to that coast, golf courses, scores of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

miles of bridle trails, a great sardine-canning industry, a fishing fleet, the historic buildings of Monterey, scores of tennis courts, polo fields, a marine biological institute, and plenty of fine highways connecting them.

But the amazing fact is that there is nothing crowded about the Monterey Peninsula anywhere. One can get quite lost in Del Monte Forest, or ride horseback over the sand dunes and forest trails for hours and see very few people indeed. Too, if one wants to have fun and sport the year round, he may golf a different course each day five days in the week, ride innumerable miles over nearby ranches which are still today so reminiscent of the old Spanish era, and go yachting, fishing and hunting.

As to hunting, the Peninsula is a Nimrod's paradise where big and little game animals and birds abound

within walking distance of the three Peninsula towns. For big-game devotees there are deer, mountain lions and wild hogs, which are the genuine tuskers from the wilds of Russia, imported years ago by a wealthy rancher. They are hunted in the early morning and late evening and experts advise high caliber arms. The Peninsula, too, is one of the few places in California where the casual motorist may suddenly find his way blocked by a life-size bull elk. Released in Del Monte Forest many years ago, the elk thrived and, despite efforts to corral them and ship them away, a few specimens still haunt the forest.

IN THE 1860's, whaling was a booming industry in the Bay and the old whaling station is one of the

sights of interest. But whales have been replaced as an industry by diminutive sardines which, in the season of 1936-37, produced a total of 1,297,527 cases of canned fish worth $3,700,000; 31,459 tons of fish meal worth $1,100,000; and 6,964,310 gallons of fish oil worth $2,447,500. Some 800 fishermen receive $2,052,180 for their catch, and wages amounting to nearly $1,000,000 go to workers in the canneries and reduction plants. Monterey's fish business lends color and interest to the waterfront, with an old-world fishing fleet at anchor, while Fishermen's Wharf is a source of never-ending entertainment for visitors, with Spanish and Italian women pounding abalone and Chinese selling squid. The fish-food restaurants are world famous.

Tourist accommodations on Monterey Peninsula vary from the luxury hotels to tiny cottages and trailer camps. For those traveling by rail, Monterey is easily reached from either San Francisco or Los Angeles.

(Next month: the Hudson, Mississippi, Tennessee and Ohio Rivers. For further information on travel, consult the Travel Editor of THE LIVING AGE *or your own travel agent.)*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters and the Arts

By ALFRED KREYMBORG

WITH THE return of hot weather at home and hot warfare abroad it is time once more to look over the immediate past and to consider a possible future. Chatting with a penthouse publisher I was advised that increased taxation as a means toward raising funds for our self-defence program is going to force a drastic cut in publishers' lists for next season. In the field of the theater there have been more flops than ever before and successful managers have presented not a single play worthy of the name of dramatic art. The greatly advertised *Time of Your Life* by the greatly over-advertised William Saroyan did succeed in winning both the Pulitzer and Critics' Circle awards for the year, but did not succeed in hiding the fact that a fellow named Gorki once wrote the powerfully original *Night's Lodging* from which *The Time of Your Life* was diluted. In his next excursion, Saroyan promises a play called *Sweeney Among the Trees* and one wonders whether the happy San Franciscan has been reading T. S. Eliot's *Sweeney Among the Nightingales.*

The galleries have held up quite well during the season past, but several have announced that they will not be able to open their doors next fall. And more's the pity considering that our dealers have kept in fairly good touch with the progress of American, as well as foreign, painting and sculpture. The Opera House has maintained a glittering campaign toward raising a million dollars toward keeping the diamond horseshoe unblemished, the while the rest of us hear nothing new and don't wish to hear old Verdi again—not quite so often, at least. The pinch of economics and the war has not yet disturbed the grandeur of our concert halls. In this respect we still lead the world of music so far as performance is concerned, though we're far behind the old world in the creation of music itself. The dancers have likewise had a fairly distinguished season supported by an audience which surpasses the handful of people who attended the first recitals of the immortal Isadora. Meanwhile, The World of Tomorrow continues to draw the gaping millions to Flushing Meadows while some of us begin to yearn for the much more certain and realistic World of Yesterday.

Radio has maintained a fine level in musical programs, but has fallen beneath the promise of former years in experimental and social dramas. With the arrival of another war, the executive gods turned against anything which might reflect the war (outside the latest hot news) or cause any other horror to the seraphic listener. But this dear customer has not been spared the horrors of commercial programs sponsored by advertisers whose announcers grow

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sweeter and sweeter with the goo of the hour. Everyone is deftly encouraged to escape reality.

It is in no mood of escape that your genuine artist confronts his destiny. He labors in obscurity at best and out of his physical isolation creates the work which survives the madness of the hour or the year. Close to the heart of his race, native in his speech and international in the scope of his vision, he must seem to his commoner fellows an anti-social being, a man who addresses the clouds instead of the crowds. Hazlitt, in one of his furious moods, charged the world with hating genius, and Ernest Hemingway has stated bluntly that, "The world destroys a good man." The history of art is strewn with the bones of great men whose flesh got little or no food from their people and nobody knows where the archangel Mozart was buried. But the energies and engines of genius still whip up inspiration in a later age.

THE difficulty of writing at all on a worldly scale with the earth changing shape every moment stumps the great artist as never before. The journalist and radio crier, skipping like fleas from event to swifter event, are closer to the tuppenny mob than the man of perspectives. But this larger, slower man is deep at the heart of nature and human nature and what he hears there will be transcribed for races that have no boundaries and whose wars are not their own wars. The present debacle may even find its greatest interpreter in the very land for whose present activities we have revived the word, barbarism. Art knows no land but one: human nature.

Recent word from the South brings an encouraging sign for the American theater. The famous little Barter Theater in Virginia has just been raised to the stature of a state theater with funds for production to be allocated by the legislature. This is probably the first example of a genuine state theater in America, unless one considers the recent Federal theaters state theaters. But the Federal theaters suffered from the bugaboos of charity, of giving jobs to unemployed actors on a hand-out basis, and, at election times, of serving the whole group as a political football for the rival parties. As the director of the Manhattan and Bronx project of the Federal Theater I saw enough purgatory to last any man forever. There were so many checks and counter-checks on our professional activities that no man faced the morrow with any confidence or enthusiasm. And the self-respect that was given to old and young actors by being employed at a living wage was reduced to a living terror by the introduction of more and more pink slips. And money was wasted at an incredible rate. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the movement in Virginia will not be hampered by pink or red tape and that the legislators will learn the tragic lessons of the Federal Theater and give Robert Porterfield, director of the Barter Theater, the unqualified support he deserves. And this support likewise belongs to the people who brought their vegetables to the box-office in exchange for a good American ticket.

Other exciting news comes from the American metropolis in the shape of the annual prize contest for poetry held by the high schools of Greater

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New York at the Washington Irving High School. Some thirty-odd schools selected their one best poet and sent him or her to the general competition. There each young aspirant read aloud his prize poem in front of the sacred judges—of which I was one. On the following morning and evening, newspapers gave the impression that the whole event was terribly sad and morbid, but I had just the opposite impression. The simple fact that most of these boys and girls chose to write not about the proverbial flower and the proverbial sentiments of youth or senility, but about their immediate surroundings, and used for their subject matter such themes as pacifism, unemployment, poverty, clinics, the negro problem, the Jewish problem, etc.—I found this fact very stimulating. It revealed that the youngsters of my birthplace, and the teachers who gave them encouragement, were aware of the realities of our times and expressed themselves and their background with considerable eloquence. Many a professional poet would have dubbed their work propaganda and advised the young scholars to devote themselves to pure poetry—whatever that may be. If pure poetry is an earnest of the deepest feeling caught in some perfect form of natural speech it must be apparent that a poem about a factory has as much right to existence as a poem about a rose. And any truth would happen to have a greater appeal right now than any attempt to escape into dreamland or twaddleville. When one of the prizewinners was interviewed by one of the smart reporters, this quiet line dropped from the lad of sixteen: "This is an age of sorrow for the young." And I thought of Heine's impulsive line: *"Aus meinen grossen Schmerzen mach ich die kleinen Lieder."*

WE HAVE not suffered in anything like the same proportion Europeans have suffered during this dark century. And what they suffered throughout the last war is rapidly being dwarfed by what they are going through now and what they must dread through every breathing moment. Already more than one creative life—the creative life inherent in every man, woman and child, dead or alive—has dropped before, or is threatened by, the latest inventions of science. This is an age when machines threaten to overthrow the man who made and ran them. Cultures will go down in blood, whether old or recent, and that artist who surmounts this era must be almost superhuman to compete with the odds against him. But the artist is accustomed to one-sided odds, even where death is concerned, and some of his greatest work was achieved while the very Greeks were at war with one another and left their physical remains in the dust of oblivion. The spirit that survives, the spirit which animates their European descendants, must conquer the physical world. And the same may be said for ourselves who descended from the ships of European nations to found a new land and new culture beyond the hells of the past.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Speaking of Books

By LEON BRYCE BLOCH

FROM the battlefields of Europe, carried on the wings of modern machines, comes the sound of disintegration of other machines mingled with the final words of men dying. And not only are men dying, but also a civilization.

It appears to most of us as a terrible nightmare, this world scene. Perhaps to some, it may seem less bearable because it represents the end of a way of life in which we have become facile. It is always a moment of sadness that accompanies departure of the familiar. The familiar scene or the familar person engenders a sense of warmth and security—often false. Partings twist the human heart.

There is something more than this emotional factor involved: the awful grandeur of millions of human beings face to face with destiny. No place for sentimentality here. The picture of humanity being shorn of a 300-year-old civilization in the cold morning of confusion must prod every nerve of soul and mind, in those men who still maintain their intelligence and will, into some kind of action.

This is the end of an era, the swan song of a culture, the Gethsemane of a human tradition. At this crossroads, the Western World, struggling with all the forces of darkness and evil inherent in man who has been savage for countless ages, must cast the die that will determine the way of life for centuries yet unborn. From this Gethsemane of modern man lead two ways, and two ways only: up toward the fulfilment of man's promise, in which he shall employ all of his science, economy and machines for the greater glory of man, or back towards the abysmal slime from which he crawled.

Out of this great moment of darkness comes the small light of a feeble star. A book has been born. Small comfort, you say. Perhaps. But this exploding atom may be enough. It may be, perhaps, the tiny imponderable needed to swing the decision. Or it may be the impetus, the wee, small, almost imperceptible agent that will move us to seek further light. Small and unnoticed incidents have been the motive forces of history. Prophets singing in the wilderness, such as a Paine, a Voltaire, a Moses, a Confucius sprang from causes no greater than a pebble dropped in a silent pool.

Chart for Rough Water may be such a pebble, chipped from the fertile mind of Waldo Frank. Mr. Frank has written books before, now he is a John calling man to a new baptism.

It is futile, nay impertinent to assay Mr. Frank's earlier works, for their qualities of literary and intellectual value are immaterial. Yes, much of his writing has been obscure, confused and of low literary quality. But what of that? This book redeems him of every error, and it so obscures his past that I venture the prediction that to-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

morrow will judge him by this work alone.

Now he carries hope of the victory of man over the world about him. He sings of the dignity of the human spirit, of the final emergence of man from the cocoon of his past.

But man's emergence is not sure tomorrow. Much depends on man himself and upon his understanding of the world and of himself, Mr. Frank tells us. And in *Chart for Rough Water* he paints an unmistakable picture of man and the world. Only those who refuse to understand can refuse to join the men of good will in the world who alone can save what may remain of mankind and human dignity.

The book examines the social, economic, political and human values that have guided civilization for the past three centuries. It gives some historical background in order to show the foundations on which Western civilization stood, and the soil from which it arose.

Most important of all our values, Mr. Frank demonstrates, is the Great Tradition. He explains it thus:

"Its birth was on the Mediterranean shores. And before it spread in Europe through Rome, and through the Spaniard and Puritan came to the Americas, it had already many forms: Egypt, Judea, Greece. Yet its essence has never changed. It is the knowledge that individual man partakes of the Divine, which is his way of naming the universal and of naming it good and of naming it his. It is the knowledge that his life has purpose and direction because God is in him. There it is, and it has brought dignity to individual man and a strength the Hindus never had, nor the Chinese, nor the American Indian; for all these cultures, however deep, deny the basic reality of the person. It created Europe. It created America. It is the Great Tradition."

IN THE sixteenth century, the birth of the modern era, man began to stifle the Great Tradition and threatened to dim it altogether. Says Mr. Frank:

"The individual soul, fed and grown great by its awareness of the Divine within it, believed it could dispense with the divine."

Thus in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries man, grown arrogant in his own strength, built economic, social and political systems which gradually debased man. Capitalism stressed the right of the individual to exploit the world—and his fellow man. Of course lip-service was still maintained in the Great Tradition. But hear Mr. Frank:

"This rebellion of the ego, grown great by the truth of the Great Tradition, against the Great Tradition, brought about man's humiliation. This fall we are witnessing today in Europe. Whole peoples tortured, turned loose upon a world too cowardly to receive them; thousands concentrated into camps under sadists whose task is to offend their bodies and maim their souls because they differ in opinion or blood from the ruling gangsters; dominant statesmen whose 'word' is the stale refuse of beer saloons, yet it releases whole continents into carnage; science the slave of destruction; truth the whore of propaganda; mighty nations turned into totalitarian machines for death . . . this is the madness of the 'autonomy of reason,' the Sabbath of a culture of 'well-being,'

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in men who assumed they had outgrown the Great Tradition."

Mr. Frank speaks of the tragic paradox of capitalism, a system in which man was debased for a profit gained only by ignoring the Great Tradition. Democracy scouted it too, and many so-called churches. Liberalism, that lily-livered half-truth, tried to save the rotten remnants of disintegration in the ninteenth century, and communism in the twentieth. But both ignored or attacked the Great Tradition and thus in them were the same seeds of decay as in the thing they tried to save. Those seeds were the seeds of fascism. Fascism abhors the Great Tradition because acceptance of the Great Tradition spells the death of fascism.

Fascism is no strange or abnormal fungus growth on the human race. It is the natural, normal, inevitable passion-flower inherent in the degradation of man. Through it man completes his degradation, he slips back into the abysmal slime of animalism and empiric materialism. It is the full bloom of the emphasis upon securing bread alone. Through it man hopes to get security, well-being, satisfaction of animal passions—and freedom from any discomfort of conscience. By denying the existence of any moral values, by denying any dignity to man, by denying the God in himself, the fascist man turns atavistic.

All this is a dark picture indeed. But Mr. Frank does not leave us with only that. The last quarter of his book is concerned with what is to be done. He has great hope for the Americas, if they will create a synthesis of the past and current cultures. This synthesis of a new civilization must fuse the transcendentalism of feudalism with the materialism of the dying world and produce a system based really on the Great Tradition plus the freedom from want and disease made possible by the development of science and the machine. He preaches an economy of plenty. And he provides an excellent outline for practical procedure.

The new system, he says, will be tolerant, but

"It won't be tolerant of the forces of death. And with its philosophy it will know life from death. Tolerance of the lethal elements in the world today has nurtured them; if we follow the same line which led England and France to Munich, we shall know the same aftermath."

CHART FOR ROUGH WATER. *By Waldo Frank. New York: Doubleday, Doran. 182 pages. $1.75.*

●

INFLATION AND REVOLUTION. *Mexico's Experience of 1912-17. By Edwin Walter Kemmerer. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 197 pages. $2.50.*

HISTORIANS as well as economists will welcome Dr. Kemmerer's excellent study of one of the most intriguing chapters in the history of Mexico's currency, embracing the period 1912-17. The author reminds us that these years constituted the most turbulent in the history of the southern republic, as is evidenced by the fact that no less than seven presidents held sway in addition to numerous revolutionary leaders who had proclaimed themselves chief executives.

Political chaos was largely if not solely responsible for economic and financial chaos. Following the departure from the gold standard, to which Mexico had adhered since 1905 after having maintained the silver standard for more than a generation (1875-1905), Mexico entered upon an era of depreciated paper money. During 1913-14, bank notes were issued in ever-increasing amounts without regard to correspondingly adequate reserves, with the result that the peso, which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had a parity of approximately 50 cents, declined to 25½ cents.

During 1914-16 the political unsettlement grew and, with it, the amount of paper money. It was during this period which Dr. Kemmerer terms the Constitutionalist party paper-money era, that "paper money was being pressed into circulation in large and ever-increasing volume . . . its gold value was declining . . . commodity prices advanced, at first slowly on most commodities, and then at rapidly accelerating rates." (The rate on New York declined to 2 cents per peso.) Between July 1914 and July 1915 prices of certain staples rose spectacularly, gains ranging from 900 to 2,400 per cent. Wages and salaries did not advance correspondingly, which tended to aggravate most seriously social and economic conditions. While Mexican laborers could earn only about 2 pesos a day—provided they found work—a pair of shoes cost 35 pesos, an experience encountered in many European and American countries in the years following the first World War. Apparently the disastrous results of unbridled monetary inflation in Mexico has failed to influence the fiscal policy of other countries.

As a result of the circulation of a variety of paper money, extensive counterfeiting was practiced throughout the country. To meet this situation, Mexico resorted to the issuance of so-called "Infalsificables"—uncounterfeitable paper money "engraved on a special paper and in such a form and of such artistic perfection that counterfeiting will be impossible."

However, despite all efforts and declaration of good intentions, economic laws could not be violated with impunity. The Mexican currency unit declined to about one three-hundredth of its original parity. Dr. Kemmerer reminds the reader that the authorities in a solemn statement released by the Mexican secretary of the treasury shifted responsibility from the Government, where it doubtless belonged, to where blame might be laid with impunity. "The large businesses and the banks protect themselves completely," the Secretary announced on May 5, 1916.

After December 1, 1916, Mexico once again returned to metallic money and the issuance of fiat currency without adequate cover or without cover at all, ceased.

Dr. Kemmerer finally discusses the manner in which the Government had found it desirable to revalue contracts scheduled to be paid in paper pesos which had depreciated to the vanishing point. A short but excellent bibliography concludes Dr. Kemmerer's invaluable contribution to monetary history which should be read not alone by those who are interested in the historical aspects of the question, but by all those who are "concerned with the relation between currencies and the social and material well-being of a people."

—MAX WINKLER

THE STRATEGY OF TERROR. *By Edmond Taylor. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1940. 278 pages. $2.50.*

MR. TAYLOR is the skilful and adroit chief correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* foreign-news syndicate, stationed at Paris, and his attempt here is to expose the Nazis' employment of psychological weapons to demoralize the enemy, "to confuse by propaganda, to divide by corruption, to paralyze by intimidation, and then to destroy by blitzkrieg." This journalist cites examples of Nazi "psychological propaganda" that he has witnessed in various parts of Europe, but the fact is that this is not a book, in the sense of a sustained argument or thesis, as Mr. Taylor confesses himself: "I make no apology for the incoherence of these [diary] notes. This is a rather incoherent war, and it is not strange that human beings react to it incoherently, thinking one thing one day and another the next."

But this collection of hurried, undigested observations is interesting in that they disclose how wrong an intelligent and careful journalist can be proved by the incalculable progression of modern war. Mr. Taylor did not believe that Germany would risk a blitzkrieg, because that might endanger "a German legend, the legend that the Führer was a magician." A negotiated peace seemed likelier.

The fact is that this war, in its present tempo, at least, is not a subject to write about between the covers of a book. Mr. Taylor adds two postscripts, but, as it is, he closes with the end of the Finnish war. At this writing, the tragedy of Finland will strike most readers as belonging to a remote yesterday.

—L. M.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PROVINCIAL LADY IN WARTIME. *By E. M. Delafield. New York: Harper & Brothers. 349 pages. $2.50.*

THE *Provincial Lady in Wartime* might serve as the basis of an essay to the effect that to understand a country you must be able to laugh at its humor. Hitler seems to have been surprised that England should have swallowed Austria and Czechoslovakia and then strained at Poland (as the Kaiser before him made similar errors in guessing when the British would fight and why). One has only to try to imagine the author of *Mein Kampf* reading *The Provincial Lady in Wartime* to understand his misjudgment. But American readers will get from Miss Delafield the picture of a country so well remembering one war that it was willing to go far to maintain "peace in our time" but finally saying: "Well, we've got to *show* 'Itler, haven't we?"

The period covered by this book is the first three months of the War—evacuees and air raids that didn't come and mobilization with nothing to do and nothing happening and no news: "Ask Aunt Blanche if she has heard the Four O'Clock News—Yes, she has, and there was nothing. Nothing turns out to be that Hitler, speaking yesterday in Danzig, has declared that Great Britain is responsible for the war, and that Mr. Chamberlain, speaking today in Parliament, has reaffirmed British determination to redeem Europe from perpetual fear of Nazi aggression. Thank Heaven for that, says Aunt Blanche piously, we've got to fight it out to a finish now, and would Mr. Holloway very kindly pass her the brown bread-and-butter."

The sort of things that make up a "war of nerves" are pretty clear: Serena, hysterical after twenty-four-hour ambulance duty with nothing to do except make trips once a week for the Commandant's laundry; the Commandant herself, a horrible warning for all women in authority; Granny Bo-Peep, otherwise Mrs. "Pussy" Winter-Gammon, who hasn't had such a good time since the previous war; the Provincial Lady and her friends trying desperately to get some kind, any kind, of war work and all being told to "Stand By." It should all make you feel that no such muddled nation could possibly win any war but somehow it doesn't.

—MARJORIE MCFARLAND

BURMA ROAD. *By Nicol Smith. New York: Bobbs-Merrill. 1940. 333 pages. $3.50.*

This, indeed, is not a book that is likely to inspire globe trotters to follow in the footsteps of Nicol Smith who himself has followed pretty much in the footsteps of Marco Polo. Rather, it is a travel volume that makes the stay-at-homes content to sit in their easy chairs while the author has the adventures.

Driving through seas of mud, through cloudbursts and steaming swamplands, the home of a particularly deadly form of malaria, Nicol Smith travelled the Burma Road, a primitive engineering feat which is the present "life-line" of China. The road itself, built in seven months by coolies working for the most part with their bare hands and proud of the fact that they were not aided by any "foreign implements," cuts through jungled mountains for nearly 800 miles and is the only sure source for munitions supplies bound to Chungking and the war zones today. Few foreigners have been able to travel this road, which is safer for donkeys than for Fords, and Smith's story constitutes the first detailed report of the highway's condition in the rains. Although, he says, munitions trucks are getting through, the road still takes an appalling toll of life by landslides, washed out bridges and malignant malaria, which makes sections of it the most unhealthy place in the world; in fact, when the coolies constructing the road saw their comrades dying around them, in swarms, they fled in panic. Then women replaced the male labor battalions.

Nicol Smith seems to have made this trip as a reporter rather than an adventurer, and he minimizes nothing, nor does he exaggerate the dangers encountered. He admits that the savages in North Burma have hymn books and that the supposedly "lost temples" are covered with the civilizing media of corrugated iron roofs. What interested Smith most, perhaps, and what is one of the highlights of the book is his visit to the tin mines at Kochiu, where 50,000 children, mostly under the age of fifteen, slave in the pits which are owned by General Ta Fu-wei. There the children's skin has turned green from arsenic poisoning and the death rate is 30 per cent. The children are paid a cent a day, while adults average the magnificent sum of two cents. While Smith was visiting

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the mines, a fall of rock trapped eight of the child slaves but, as it would cost $50 to save them, the foreman would do nothing about it. And when Smith offered to pay for the rescue job himself, he was told that the General would not like it: not even eight lives were worth that much money.

Among the experiences of the author is the eating of bees fried in butter, and the purchase of two gallons of what were guaranteed to be human tears. He also visited the School for Blind Girls which he found to be a very happy institution compared to the School for Slave Girls. The inmates of the latter were children rescued from harsh masters, for slavery widely flourishes in the province of Yunnan, where parents, often forced to sell a girl baby when she is less than two years old, can only hope that the "best" will befall her—to become the part-time mistress of the man who bought her. The slaves were often starved and mistreated and at times even tortured and brutally maimed.

Mr. Smith meets a variety of people in his travels, among them an American aviator named Bill, one of a dozen who are trying to teach the Chinese to fly—a fad that has become popular among the rich youths of China. Smith motored with Paul Meyer, the American Consul, across the Burma Road and met American Ambassador Nelson Johnson among others who were travelling in the Province, which, once known as the Siberia of China, is now the refuge of Chinese intellectuals who have moved twenty-one universities and colleges a thousand miles from the war zones. A first book by Nicol Smith, this is an exceptionally lively narrative.

HARRY BRIDGES ON TRIAL. *How Union Labor Won its Biggest Case. By Estolv E. Ward. New York: Modern Age Books, Inc. 240 pages. 50 cents.*

This is a melodramatically presented report of the trial of the famous West Coast CIO labor leader from Australia who faced deportation charges on the ground that he was a member of a revolutionary organization advocating violent overthrow of the American Government. The author insists that not only clever and skillful testimony by Bridges but also perjury, sale of affidavits, blackmail and conspiracy of the West Coast industrial powers compelled the trial examiner, Dean MacCauley Landis of the Harvard Law School, to dismiss the charges. The 240 pages of the book are one continuous unqualified glorification of Bridges, who, while using all the stock arguments of the Communists, consistently denies being a Communist. By a strange coincidence Bridges has always been painted in glowing colors by the Communists, who usually reserve such honors only for their avowed or disguised comrades.

A TICKET TO MANILA. *By Bec Caldwell. Boston: Christopher. 1940. 200 pages. $2.00.*

From a purely travel standpoint this is a record of a typical tourist who has a lot of fun on shipboard, spends lavishly in the shops, and sees and learns very little of the countries visited. Although Miss Caldwell is described as a newspaper woman of experience, her style is extremely loose and wandering, and one has a feeling that the judicious use of a blue pencil would have made the book less arduous reading. Nevertheless, *A Ticket to Manila* has its points and, for anyone who is contemplating a trans-pacific jaunt, the volume is a fairly accurate guide as to what to do at sea and what to do ashore, particularly if the traveler prefers to go shopping rather than sightseeing.

LEST FREEDOM FAIL. *By Nathan Ayer Smyth. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1940. 138 pages. $1.75.*

This is a stirring book on the menace to our life and liberty. Mr. Smyth points out that disaster has overtaken the countries of Europe where totalitarianism has ascended, and traces the development toward dictatorship in our own national life. He is no soap-box orator. He knows what he is writing about, and writes with a style that sweeps the reader along with him. His point of view is a sane nonpartisanship that any reasonable person will appreciate.

Fascists and Communists and all other un-American-isms will find in *Lest Freedom Fail* nothing except sugary liberalism, but every citizen who loves and enjoys the freedom we have in this country, should read Mr. Smyth's chapter on "Peace" every morning before he sets about his daily tasks. This book should go a long way toward helping us effect permanent international good will.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KODO: THE WAY OF THE EMPEROR. *By Mary A. Nourse. New York: Bobbs-Merrill. 1940. 350 pages. $3.50.*

Described as a short history of the Japanese, this is a book which is not too precise, historically. The title is erroneous, being confused with the Japanese reading of the *Wang-tao* of Confucius and which is properly read in Japanese as *O-Do*, or the Imperial Way. *Kodo,* the variation, is unknown to standard Japanese dictionaries and might be translated the Kingly Way, which does not exist in Japan. *O-Do* is properly used as "Rule of Right" rather than "Rule of Might," in the employment of the 2,000-year-old expression adopted from the Confucianism of China and which has been much purer in the land of adoption. In China the teaching of Confucius has been obscrred by the glosses of Mencius and innumerable interpreters, many of whom served the interests of rebellion, and, for the most part, tyranny.

The adoption of the title *Kodo,* therefore, is significant in that it attempts to explain the doctrine of Emperor worship which has determined the course of Japanese history.

The writer attempts to paint Japan as still a fundamentally ancient, aristocratic oligarchy with a thin veneer of democratic and social ideas which quickly wear off. The first and second parts of the volume are devoted to a rather uninteresting rewrite job on the history of ancient and feudal Japan, while the last third of the volume carries the story down to the present and is largely an essay in anti-Japanism.

POETS AND POETRY

Verticalist Revolution

BY EUGENE JOLAS

WE ARE watching a revolution in modern poetry. It is a metaphysical revolt against the nihilism and materialism of the last decade. It is an attempt to find spiritual roots again. It is definitely anti-*surréaliste* and anti-sociological. It brings the human personality into the center of our meditations again. It has been slowly crystallizing for some years in France, England and America, but especially in France, where we witness today a flowering of the religious emotion among the younger poets. The apocalyptic fear under which mankind has been living for the past decade caused the poets to seek a solution in a celestial vision, in an attempt to defeat the law of gravitation, in a will to the mystic-romantic experience. The war is not the immediate cause of it, it has been fermenting for a number of years, and the sensitive antennae of the poets felt this revolution from far off. The horror and brutality of the current conflict has intensified the feeling to which I gave the name of "verticalist" some years ago.

In France Pierre-Jean Jouve, Jean Lelouet and others have been the leaders of this movement. In England it is T. S. Eliot who once more excites his readers by a new poem entitled *East Coker* (just published in the May-June issue of the *Partisan Review*).

It presents distinctly Eliot's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

evolution towards modern mysticism. He says:

> In the beginning is my end.

and

> I said to my soul, be still, and wait without hope
> For hope would be hope for the wrong thing: wait without love
> For love would be love for the wrong thing: There is yet faith
> But the faith and the love and the hope are all in waiting.
> Wait without thought, for you are not ready for thought:
> So the darkness shall be the light, and the stillness the dancing.

It is the mood of the religious ecstatic. It is this spirit that Amos N. Wilder analyzes in his *The Spiritual Aspects of the New Poetry*. Here for the first time an attempt is made to dissect the intellectual forces of our modern world through the poems themselves, to demonstrate the spirit of negation and chaos, and the vision for ascension. In the work of Conrad Aiken, Archibald Macleish, T. S. Eliot, Kenneth Patchen, D. H. Lawrence, W. B. Yeats and others, Amos N. Wilder traces the drama of our spiritual struggles.

A similar tendency, although less marked, may be found in *Directions in Modern Poetry* which Elizabeth Drew wrote in collaboration with John L. Sweeney. Here, too, the spiritual revaluation is emphasized, the "timeless and universal" is given its due again. It is an extremely valuable documentation of the apparently esoteric elements in the new poetry.

The appearance of the *Lyric Psalter, the Modern Reader's Book of Psalms,* undoubtedly will mark a point of departure. Over sixty poets, including Padraic Colum, Richard Eberhart, Ridgely Torrence, Isidore Schneider, Louis MacNeice, Eunice Tietjens, present their modernized versions of the famous psalms, and they are often very felicitous. I like Richard Eberhart's rendition of Psalm 103:

> Bless the Lord of my Soul—
> Bless the holy Name of the Lord,
> Too much on the insane root have men eaten,
> But breed salutes to the future with righteousness.
> Though cancer destroy you, God reigns supreme,
> Bless Him for the light of day,
> Bless Him for the darkness of night.

The *Virginia Spectator* presents *Seven Poets of the New Apocalypse*. This astonishing manifestation comes from war-torn England, where poets like Henry Treece, Norman McCaig, Dorian Cooke, Nigel Heseltine, J. F. Hendry and Keidrych Rhys express their deep metaphysical anguish in the face of the cataclysm. Henry Treece, Irish-Welsh poet, says in his introduction: "There is one point I would like to stress: these poets are functioning in a world diametrically opposite to that of Auden and Co. Poetic salvation may come to England from its minorities—the Celts." The poems have a religious emotion and a rich vocabulary.

The Calendar: 1940, edited by Norman Macleod, brings us anthologic news of a number of modern poets, such as William Carlos Williams, Oscar Williams, Kenneth Patchen, Marianne Moore, Denis Devlin, Alfred Kreymborg, as well as the voices of the younger poets. Most of these poets appeared last spring at the very interesting lecture series organized by Norman Macleod with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such care at the Poetry Center of the Y.M.H.A., New York.

A metaphysical tendency may be found in the new book of George Barker: *Lament and Triumph.* I liked *The Death of Years, Vision of England: 1939*, the *Elegies* and especially his *Holy Poems*, from which I quote:

I am St. John on Patmos of my heart
Towered and tabernacled with illusion;
Black Michaels and gold Satans stand
at hand
Gulling me with their gestures of
temptation
To bring me down from the marvellous
mountains
Where in Babylonian gardens I find
Spinoza's face hanging from every tree
Murmuring love of all our kith and
kind:
Or I feel cold as a draught on my arm
The spiralling universe like a worm
Coiling for comfort; and in my mind
The three-winged dove among my
dreams
Moaning for its apocalyptic home.

And finally we have Charles Henry Ford's new volume, *ABC's*. Here we are back in the *surréaliste* world of France. It is an amusing dance of words. *Mais çela ne me rajeunit pas.*

THE SPIRITUAL ASPECTS OF THE NEW POETRY. *By Amos N. Wilder. New York: Harper and Brothers. 261 pages. $2.50.*

DIRECTIONS IN MODERN POETRY. *By Elizabeth Drew, in collaboration with John L. Sweeney. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 290 pages. $2.50.*

THE LYRIC PSALTER, THE MODERN READER'S BOOK OF PSALM: *Edited by Harry H. Mayer. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation. 384 pages. $3.00.*

THE CALENDAR: 1940. *Edited by Norman Macleod. Prairie City, Ill.: The Press of James A. Decker. 60 pages. 50 cents.*

LAMENT AND TRIUMPH. *By George Barker. London: Faber and Faber. 70 pages. $1.50.*

ABC's. *By Charles Henry Ford. Prairie City, Ill.: The Press of James A. Decker. 16 pages. 50 cents.*

BOOKS ABROAD

THE FIRST WAR BOOKS

(Emile Bouvier in *La Lumière*, Paris)

THE FIRST books about the present war are beginning to appear. Thank God they are not novels! I don't know what the future may bring us, but I would be very much surprised if the literary revival should express itself in the guise of works of genius in which the bellicose realities would be transformed in a romantic way.

First, it is too soon. There is a precedent: the *Gaspard* of M. René Benjamin; everyone knows what he is worth and what *crises de nerfs* he can produce, for the genuine combatants as well as for conscientious artists. As for Barbusse's *Feu* (*Under Fire*), published in 1916, its effect was considerable but the reason for this must be looked for elsewhere than in its literary merits. This book expressed violently the horror of a situation which too many well-intentioned but maladroit writers tried to idealize. It was, therefore, accepted with enthusiasm by those, already numerous, who were tired of having their heads stuffed in the style of General Headquarters. Any picture of the horrors of war would have been as much admired if it had been as atrocious and systematically disheartening. Not until later, very much later, did we have a few war novels whose value consisted of more than their anecdotal and social timeliness. None of them, however, reached a level of a masterpiece of their kind, and they cannot compare with the imaginative and masterful reconstitutions of a Stendhal or a Tolstoy.

Maybe the reason is that the war novel —which there is a risk of our being presented with tomorrow—is a false genre. M. Norton Cru has very well pointed out its hidden ambiguity. On the one hand, the novelist—who poses as an artist—claims the right to symbolize, to combine and to invent, if necessary, to attain more powerful literary effects. On the other hand, he claims in his capacity as witness of events the privilege of remaining scrupulously truthful. By thus laying claim to two genres, history and fiction, he escapes difficulties at his will. If you reproach him that he is inexact, he will answer that it is a "creation"; if you object that that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

creation lacks originality and power, he will respond that things happened so and that he was there. The experience of having been under fire excuses literary defects and literary necessities excuse historic fancies.

One must allow, then, the distinction between ideal, personal and, if I may venture to say it, poetic productions, the kinds of reconstructions which follow the rules of art exclusively and are to be judged only by literary standards (*Salammbó* would be in this sense an admirable war novel)—and the nonfictional accounts written by well-informed observers with the intention only of expressing their feelings exactly and narrating faithfully the events in which they took part.

Modern taste inclines mainly to the second type. It was formed in the school of the "*grand reportage*," an art still in its infancy in 1914 but which is practiced today by talented writers. It can produce literary effects just as startling and much less spurious than those of romantic plots. Let us hope that we shall be spared the *Gaspard*, the *Chignole*, the *Bourru* and even the *Equipages*, *Martyrs* and *Croix-de-Bois*, symbols of reality which we had rather know in their authentic nudity, without dressing-up, without making-up—in a word, without fictional adornment.

It is with this conception that I have undertaken my present reading. Three war correspondents have collected their dispatches into volumes: Jacques Boulenger of *Le Temps* has published *Quelque part sur le front* (*Somewhere on the Front*); Maurice Noël of *Figaro*, *La guerre des avantpostes* (*The War of the Outposts*) and Henri Danjou of *Paris-Soir*, *L'heroique Finlande*.

The first two deal with the same subject, but while M. Boulenger observes the French front at all positions, M. Noël confines himself to the most active zone, that of the "elements of contact." Two-thirds of M. Boulenger's book are, therefore, more didactic than narrative, but the other third unites and confirms, confirms almost too exactly, M. Noël's account—the same events, the same troops. There is evidently a common source, the office of the General Staff which organized the excursion.

Nevertheless, there is progress from every point of view over the manner of reporting of 1915. Compare only Barrès famous stories: they are full of literary or historical dissonances which stand out cruelly in comparison with today's observations, which are as sincere and direct as the profession allows. The tone is more moderate, the clichés are less obvious, the official stamp is more discreet. Have the generals progressed, or the journalists? Choose for yourself. In any case, M. Boulenger can write: "It is curious (we are told) how numerous the former anti-militarists (I make a point of not employing here the proper political vocabulary), or those who believed that they were, are among the lost children." This refers to the volunteers of the free groups. In another place, he discovers during relief period that "nobody is cheerful." M. Noël notes that some of our best soldiers "have a horror of military life." The pen of General Cherfils would recoil in horror from such remarks.

Besides being more free, our correspondents are also more attentive to the technical and emotional nuances of the modern conflict. Their "war of the outposts" does not resemble our "trench warfare" of old; their soldiers are no longer cast in series in the mold, "poilu," but retain their individual and regional characters. Finally, one is sensible of a sincere effort to suggest what one can only call the "incommunicables" of the war, to reconstruct in words that atmosphere which is so strange to the people in the rear. Certain pages of M. Boulenger on the relief periods and of M. Noël on night in the forest, attain this fairly well.

Still, the themes are supplied by the General Staff and the field of observation is limited. Less under surveillance, M. Henri Danjou has reported more rich and varied impressions of Finland. Without turning into fiction, they spontaneously build up a magnificent epopee. The book finds its unity in the impression of a miracle; it surprises, it moves, in the end it impels admiration. All that by very simple methods, without an inside story, without trace of emphasis, but with a very sure feeling for composition and a particularly fortunate selection of details. M. Danjou need not envy our most famous men of letters, because, without knowing it, he has found exactly the tone and style of the best writers. *L'heroique Finlande* is not only of powerful interest; it contains pages worthy of an anthology.

Nevertheless, a picture of war will never be fully satisfactory. No matter how scrupulous and talented the painter may be, he in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

evitably remains extraneous to the drama. He sees only the plot and the scene, he cannot enter into the souls. And it is there that the most moving, the most instructive battles are fought. That is why memoirs of combatants have special value.

I mean human value. In the infatuation of the public for war adventures, which I do not share, for the drama of battle which is so well appreciated in an easy chair, for the confidences of a general or a simple soldier, there is something incurably frivolous and grossly superficial. The pleasure of the spectator of melodrama, of the reader of petty news items, of the amateur of exoticism, in the circumstances becomes indecent.

The only way in which the taste for literary satisfactions can decently be reconciled with the love due those who are dying for us, is by meditating on the messages which they have entrusted to us. And then it is necessary that those messages should be earnest, free from all retrospective vanity.

We have already two "journals" of the siege of Warsaw, that of Commander Sowinski, *Journal d'un défenseur de Varsovie* (*Journal of a Defender of Warsaw*), and that of Commander Ordon, *Le siège de Varsovie* (*The Siege of Warsaw*); always moving and at times profound, they are again too hasty and not intimate enough. But *Quatre mois, carnet d'un officer de liaison* (*Four Months, Notes of a Liaison Officer*) by André Chamson is what we have been waiting for. The study of the human heart proceeds here on the highest plane, the events are no more than a pretext. The soliloquy of a lucid consciousness, awaiting the worst, under the menace of danger, heroic or petty; the world of yesterday overturned, that of tomorrow still in suspense; the old values given over to questioning; the new values which appear on the horizon of thought; France, civilization, the sense of human destiny revised and corrected by a light as cold and dehumanized as that of a winter dawn—here they are to be found in this book, one of the author's best works.

So, what is left for the "man of letters"? The only technique needed is to enable a man to express briefly and clearly his confusion and impress this ephemeral aspect of his condition with a durable value. Is not this, after all, the true mission of literature if it pretends to be anything but a way of earning one's living or an amusement?

L. SCHUCMAN
117 EAST 18TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Specialist in scholarly and out of print books at second-hand prices.

L. SCHUCMAN
117 EAST 18TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Our unusually large and choice stock is especially rich in those fields which are sure to interest readers of THE LIVING AGE

ECONOMICS—GOVERNMENT
HISTORY—LAW

CATALOGUES on the above listed subjects will be sent to you on request —gratis. We will also be pleased to search for and quote on out of print and desired items. No fee is asked for any of these services. Please make use of them.

SPECIAL NOTE — Why not inspect a new 3000 item history library which is now on display.
Hours from 9 A. M.—6 P. M.

L. SCHUCMAN
117 EAST 18TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

White Mountains

ALL THE SPORTS, ENTERTAINMENT AND COMFORTS OF A FIRST CLASS ESTABLISHMENT • NO HAY FEVER RESTRICTED CLIENTELE . . .

Season
JUNE 29 — OCT. 2

NEW YORK REPRESENTATIVE
L. S. LAW
500 Fifth Avenue
(Room 1106)
PENNSYLVANIA 6-9557

Booklet & Rates
WRITE
BARRON HOTEL CO.
Crawford Notch, N.H.
OR ASK
MR. FOSTER TRAVEL OFFICES

CRAWFORD HOUSE
CRAWFORD NOTCH - NEW HAMPSHIRE

SOURCE & OUT-OF-PRINT
BOOK SPECIALISTS
IN BOOKS ON CRIME CRIMINOLOGY
Detective Fiction
(By Mail Only)
THE CRIME SHOP
Louis Greenfield 40-26 Ithaca St.
Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.

Our Readers Say:

Editor, *The Living Age,*

Sir:

In your June issue is an article by Miss Lili Rendy. It offers a picture of Tibor de Eckhardt, Hungarian member of parliament and Agrarian party leader, now touring America. The author states that Mr. Eckhardt is "one of the keenest and most popular politicians in Central Europe" and, in general, offers a picture that is grossly distorted, biased and false, historically incorrect and naïve to a point touching the ridiculous.

I am a Hungarian newspaperman of thirty-two years' experience in the field of Hungarian politics, former foreign editor of Pesti Naplo, Budapest, special writer and correspondent on the staff of the London *Morning Post,* former editor of the Hungarian daily, *Népszava,* New York, and contributor to the *New York Times, Herald-Tribune, Atlantic Monthly,* etc., etc.

Eckhardt's political past is as black as that of any Central European political gangster and his presence offers little to mitigate it. True, he is a most able speaker; true, he tried to atone for his sins by fighting Hungarian Nazi domination and by adopting a liberal attitude toward questions that spell shame for Hungary, but voted for all backward legislation, such as the Anti-Jewish Law passed last year excluding all Jews (94 per cent of them) from all professions and trades and (100 per cent of them) from all industries and arts. He recommended lenient administration of that law, but voted for it, nevertheless. The author of the article failed to mention that Mr. Eckhardt was the founder and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

president of the famed "Awakening Magyars" organization, a gang of terrorists and Jew-beaters, who kept the nation in a barbarous state of existence for two years, and that he had obtained his position as the head of the Press Bureau of the Bethlen régime through his terrorist methods, Bethlen trying to appease him by giving him a job close to the head of the government.

Miss Rendy states that Mr. Eckhardt came to the United States "to give and receive information." That is what she was told by Mr. Eckhardt.

I happen to be better informed on the subject. He came to the United States as much of a refugee as any German Jew has come here within the last seven years. He made himself obnoxious to the Hungarian Nazis and he, as well as anyone else, expected a German invasion of Hungary any day. A sort of Hungarian Thyssen of the political ilk, who, by his activities as an "Awakening Magyar," built up the Nazi mentality in Hungary, then, deserting his gangster comrades, was fearful of his life. He came to America to save it and will return if Hitler is beaten but will never return if Hitler's influence increases in Hungary. Among Hungarian liberal politicians he is considered dangerous and unreliable, in spite of his attitude toward "Nazism, communism and conservatism," as the three "isms" he hates most. He is not a liberal but a fascist of a different nationalist hue than the prevailing ones.

Then again, Miss Rendy states that in 1918 "when Count Karolyi's anti-monarchist revolution broke out, Eckhardt refused to obey the orders of the new Government. Instead, he organized a defence army among the

F. B. SINGER CO., INC.

123 Williams St.
New York, N. Y.

Special Insurance Advisor and Broker for a Quarter of a Century.

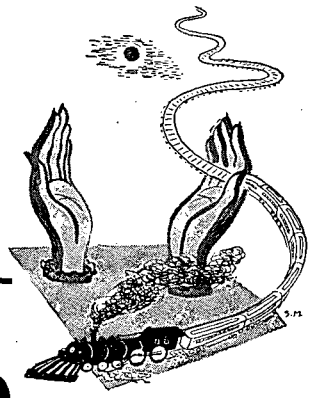
VITAMINS
for our
LIVING AGE

Reliable brands of ABDG capsules —when of sufficient vitamin potency — such as VITAMIN CLUB and VITAMEAL capsules—are most convenient and economical for daily diet supplementation.

VITAMIN CLUB and VITAMEAL brand ABDG capsules

Guaranteed products of
VITAMIN INDUSTRIES INC.
20 W. 43rd St., New York City

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



DOUBLY HANDY

(1) direct passageway from Grand Central Terminal to Roosevelt lobby, and (2) midtown location in the center of New York's attractions.

Save time and be comfortable. Large, well-furnished, outside rooms—$4.50 up.

HOTEL ROOSEVELT

BERNAM G. HINES, *Managing Director*

MADISON AVENUE AT 45th ST., NEW YORK

ONLY 20 MINUTES BY EXPRESS SUBWAY TO THE WORLD'S FAIR

The PRESIDENT

Enjoy glorious sunny days in the invigorating sea air. Relax in the luxurious comfort of this newest boardwalk hotel.

Sun Decks . . . Sea Water Swimming Pool . . . Modern Turkish Baths . . . Excellent Cuisine . . . Famous Round-the-World Room with Dinner and Supper Dancing Nightly . . . Surf Bathing from Hotel.

HOUSEKEEPING SUITES

EUROPEAN & AMERICAN PLANS

Write for descriptive booklet

THE PRESIDENT HOTEL

ATLANTIC CITY

peasants of his district to resist not only the Karolyi revolutionaries but the invading Rumanians as well."

These statements are false and outright stupid. The Karolyi régime was not anti-monarchist, for Karolyi was actually appointed by the King, Charles IV. The Rumanian invasion occurred after the Hungarian Soviet was in power for more than seventy days and Eckhardt could not have fought the Rumanian invaders without joining forces with the Soviet Red Army which was fighting the invading Rumanians. What he did organize was the gang of terrorists after the Rumanians have settled down in Hungary and his gang's main patriotic activity centered in the pulling of whiskers of old, defenceless Jews and blackmailing other Jews, who happened to have no whiskers to pull.

Eckhardt was a friend of the late Prime Minister Gömbös, a black-hearted adventurer if ever there was one. (Eckhardt himself gave him that appellation—after his death.) He tried hard to reach the premiership and, because he could not achieve it, he turned against every government that came along, even against Bethlen, who first gave him a government job. He boasts of having made the Agrarian party liberal. That is a lie. It was an organization made liberal by its founder, Gaston Gaàl and whatever liberalism Eckhardt acquired was derived by him through the Agrarian party.

But it was phony from the start. He was a fascist by nature, by birth, by education and by choice. If we should have the misfortune in America of having him permanently as a guest, he will make an excellent member of the fifth column—just the kind of guest we don't want here.

—JOSEPH SZEBENYEI

HUGHES PRINTING CO.
EAST STROUDSBURG, PA.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FOREIGN OBSERVER

A confidential newsletter giving you the behind-the-scenes political and business activities abroad that never reach

THE FOREIGN OBSERVER

our newspapers. "Hardboiled" analysis – useful prophecy – culled EACH WEEK by the editors of THE LIVING AGE from hundreds

THE FOREIGN OBSERVER

of foreign newspapers, government reports and confidential cables.

52 issues . . . $10 a year

420 Madison Avenue New York City

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PALO ALTO
PUBLIC LIBRARY
READING ROOM

NOW----

The Most Useful Book of the Year:

THE WORLD OVER IN 1939

Compiled and written annually by Editors of *The Living Age*

YESTERDAY a unique method of recording current world history for maximum availability, today the book of the hour for either professional or lay observer of events in both hemispheres —**The World Over in 1939** combines authority of reporting and interpretation with timeliness in a degree that no other volume has even attempted.

From Narvik to Batavia, Alexandria to Brussels, Bukharest to Tokyo, and Rome to Washington, the events of today and the potentials of tomorrow are underlined and explained in **The World Over in 1939.**

"...a splendidly organized survey of world affairs, which should prove invaluable to students of contemporary history," *The Chicago Tribune* comments.

More than 900 pages and index...Price $4.00

THE LIVING AGE, 420 Madison Ave., New York City

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED